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Nothing for Workers in Roosevelt Message

President's Demagogy at Congress Opening Hides Ruling Class Plans

With millions listening on the radio, President Roosevelt opened the regular session of the Seventy-third Congress Wednesday with the keynote that the fundamental features of the "New Deal" are permanent features of American reconstruction. Old methods had to be replaced by a "permament readjustment of many of our ways of thinking and therefore of many of our social and economic arrangements."

The tasks facing Congress, Roosevelt contended, are as great as those which faced the Congress of 1789 The problem is "to build on the ruins of the past a new structure designed better to meet the present problems of modern civilization. He felt well satisfied with the cooperation of Congress in meeting this situation.

In typical demagogic style, he then proceeded to enumerate the accomplishments of the NRA. Forgetting his ballyhoo about the need for increased purchasing power of the masses, Roosevelt claims a decrease in unemployment of several millions, uniform standards of hours and wages, adequate pay and reasonable profits as achievements of the NRA.

Increase of Unemployment

The increase of industrial unemployment of over one-half million in the month of November, the decrease in real wages or purchasing power of the masses due to increased prices, the use of the NRA boards against the unions, the organization of company unions under the NRA —all these facts which fly in the face of Roosevelt's optimism, were carefully omitted.

Like Wilson, his liberal Democratic forerunner, Franklin D. Roosevelt thrives on promises, more promises and still more promises. With Wilsonian solemnity, he speaks of "the protection which the State can give against exploitation by their fellow-men or by combination of their fellow-men". Radical language, but meaningless phrases. By exploitation Roosevelt means misusing the workers to a point where they revolt or are no longer of value to the bosses. "Reasonable profits" is the aim of Roosevelt. The fact that millions are dependent on a few for their livelihood—this is not slavery, this is not exploitation. It is inherent in modern civilization and American institution!

"Balancing Production and Consumption"

In face of the farmers' revolt Roosevelt consoles Congress and the American people that "the experiment of seeking a balance between production and consumption is succeeding" Why then the farmers' revolts? Not a word from the spokesmen of the American bosses —for to even mention the revolt is to shatter his entire hokum about the aid given to the masses of farmers.

Instead of an analysis of what is. Roosevelt offers more promises. He envisages for the not distant future a national plan (his emphasis) under which annual appropriations for public works will be covered by current revenue. What an empty boast! On the one hand we are told that there exists an unnecessary expansion of productive facilities. On the other hand, Roosevelt proposes to reconstruct American economy by increasing these facilities. The fact that the existing productive capacity cannot be utilized because of the impoverishment of the masses, their existence as wage slaves; that real, permanent readjustment is only possible by a social change, a social revolution through which the masses can own the mines, mills and factories—this simple fact runs against Roosevelt's class logic.

The Joker in the Peace Policy

This clever representative of American big business understands that one possible way out of the crisis is at the expense of other capitalist countries. In the final analysis this is settled by the use of arms—by war. Again the Wilsonian Democrat, the peace-loving pacifist, in face of recent increased appropriations for military reorganization and the building of war cruisers, informs the world that the United States is "ready to cooperate at any time in practicable measures on a world basis looking to immediate reduction of armaments and the lowering of the barriers against commerce!"

The United States, which can produce armaments faster than any other country can well afford to promise to accept "practicable measures" in this diretion and even actually accept such measures without altering any designs for imperialist aggressions by military means

Roosevelt's congressional speech is another step in his demagogic campaign to enlist the American workers for wage slavery and imperialism.

Court Threat to Labor Witness

Preparations are being made by the Terzani Defense Committee and its attorneys to defend Samuel Z. Wein, ex-Khaki Shirt member who testified in behalf of Athos Terzani, anti-Fascist, and who faces a perjury charge because of his admission that he gave false testimony before the grand jury.

All workers and working-class organizations are urged in a current appeal by Herbert Mahler, treasurer of the defense committee, to rally to Wein's aid. "Our fight is not yet ended," says Mahler. "Wein took the stand to save Terzani, knew he was in danger of prosecution, but did not flinch. He admitted that he told the grand jury Anthony Fierro was killed by a man in a brown suit, such as Terzani wore, but swore he did this because his life had been threatened by Commander Art Smith of the Khaki Shirts.

All who have collected money for Terzani's defense, not yet turned in, are asked to send it at once to the committee at 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The committee, which includes delegates from the American Civil Liberties Union, will remain intact until Wein is clear.

CIVIL WORKS AND THE NRA

Throughout the crisis mass unemployment has been one of the most complex problems of capitalism. As the crisis passed from months into years the ruling class followed every phase of the problem of the unemployed and endeavored to check this rising tide from finding an outlet into the class struggle.

At first they denied its existence. Then the exploiters claimed it was a temporary phenomenon. Next they denied its magnitude. Only after a long period of many months, with resistance every inch of the way, did the capitalists admit that charity and local and state relief must be replaced by a national policy to cope with the "emergency". They continue to fight against considering unemployment as a social problem and oppose social insurance. Many far-sighted exploiters, it is true, now realize that unemployment is a permament problem. The majority, however—and they dominate the government policy—continue to try every form of emergency relief possible in order to avoid facing the issue of unemployment insurance.

Title Two of the Recovery Act provided for a public works program and the expenditure of over three billion dollars. The method of handling the problem of unemployment under the NRA was coordinated into a two-fold policy. On the one hand the public works program was to take millions off the relief lists. The reduction of hours was to put more millions back to work at reduced real wages. The government had to admit at a very early date that the public works program failed to accomplish this purpose. It did, as we stated before, enable a goodly number of exploiters to get in on the pork barrel. All but a half a billion of the fund has been alloted and it has failed as a factor to cause reemployment.

When this phase of the NRA cracked wide open the administration inaugurated the Civil Works Program designed to give jobs, in place of relief to four million. Stripped of its high-sounding pretensions and its publicity tricks the Civil Works Program was an emergency stop-gap—a scheme for winter, which is the worst peirod for the unemployed, to give them just a sufficient amount to keep them from starving to death, until spring. Four billion dollars four million workers, deducting the regular American graft along the way, leaves less than fifty dollars for the winter for the "bread winner" of an average family of four. The Civil Works Program was a necessary supplementary measure to prop up the breakdown of the NRA.

The Civil Works Program, like all other government measures dealing with the problem of unemployment, is so organized that the relief and work given is spread over the nation through a process of selecting the most menacing sections of the problems and taking off their sharp edges. The object is, first, to protect private property from individual acts of robbery and, last but not least, to protect capitalist property from the threat of expropriation by the working class. This is attempted by singling out for attention the most difficult family cases as well as by a consideration of all other social factors in the given local situation.

The record for 1933 shows March to be the peak month with four and a half million receiving public aid. Over five million families were placed on a fifty cents per day average last winter; at the present time with al the new measures taken for their "benefit", they are doing good if they get sixty cents a day. In addition to this large number on the relief list, there exists that growing army of destitute individuals below this level who sleep under viaducts and on doorsteps by night and roam the streets looking for a handout by day. Above the multitude on relief list there is a still larger number of families, with the bread earners out of work, which exists precariously one way or another—some families are broken up and dispersed in the homes of relatives or friends; some used up their treasured rainy dry savings; others have become houseworkers and janitors in exchange for the necessities of life.

The government adopts those measures for the problem of unemployment which benefit the ruling class. But they twist the question upside down so that it looks as though they are trying to solve the problem for labor's benefit. The majority of the unemployed as well as the employed are not yet disillusioned and accept the inverted bourgeois explanation as correct. The workers must be taught that bourgeois charity and relief, which take from the super-abundant supply and overproduction only a sufficient amount of food and necessities to keep the wage slaves from starving to death, are not really designed to help them. The object in reality is to prevent individual and, later, social expropriation of capitalist property and, at the same time, to insure the capitalists an abundant supply of cheap labor power. This is the dominating motive of all unemployment measures of the capitalists.

The Civil Works Program will face its death crisis in the spring, as the public works program of the NRA confronted it in the fall. The ruling exploiters look forward to warm weather and the hoped-for revival. If the revival does not take place they will drive through another "emergency measure".

The extension of the original Public Works Program to the Civil Works Program has solved nothing fundamentally. It has only postponed the showdown. It has, in a negative way, further educated the unemployed as to what kind of a government and what kind of a crazy economic system we have.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Free Yakima Defendants

All 32 I. W. W. orchard strike pickets who had been jailed in Yakima, Washington, since August on a charge of assaulting a mob of 300 vigilante farmers who had beaten them with pick handles, have been released without trial, according to information received by the American Civil Liberties Union. The prosecution agreed to drop the case on the eve of trial when it learned that the defense was ready to put scores of witnesses on the stand in behalf of the accused.

Proscutor Sandvig found himslf in a tight place as the trial date approached. Because of the great number of persons involved, and the many witnesses which would need to be called on both sides, it was obvious that the proceedings would cost Yakima County several thousand dollars. There was widespread complaint from the taxpayers about this.

A few days before the scheduled trial date the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, of which the defendants were members, held a protest meeting in Yakima attendfacts of the situation were made ed by 500 workers, at which the clear to the community. This appears to have been an important factor in revealing the flimsiness of the prosecution's case.

Increase in Lynchings Reported for 1933

Bourbon South Leads in Mob Murder; Sheriffs Assist Gangs

The ghastly practise of lynching has increased 180 per cent over the number in 1932, according to the anual review made public by Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Translated into actual figures this means that 28 men were the victims of the sadistic fury of barbaric murder mobs in 1933, compared to 10 lynchings last year.

Highly significant is this alarming jump in lynching in face of the fact that the fourth year of the shattering economic crisis has set the nerves of large sections of the population on edge, with the American individualistic type of pogrom—lynching—as the outlet.

The protectors of the public morality, the guardians of law-and-order have been silent or active partners in this gruesome sport, practised by the denegerated dregs of society. Legal fictions of democracy and the due-process-of-the-law have been ripped to shreds by the tacit and not-so-tacit support given to the lynch mobs by sheriffs and their sworn-in-deputies and the ardent endorsement by the Governor of California of the murderers of the two alleged kidnappers.

The "honors" in the mob murder competition for the year 1933 go to the state of Alabama which leads the country with five lynchings to its credit. The bestial ruling class of Alabama, it will be remembered, has earned special recognition by the death verdict it awarded the Scottsboro boys. It is quite adept at supplementing legal lynching with the extralegal activities of the mob. Georgia and Louisiana follow a close second with four each. Six human beings, doubtless negroes, and possibly share-croppers were lynched in South Carolina and Tennessee respectively. California and Mississippi lynched two each. Florida, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina and Texas bring up the rear in the 1933 roster of lynchings with one each. The Bourbon South, it will be seen from these reports, still nolds front rank.

The N. A. A. P. reports that the lynch mobs spent the outgoing year in a very humane manner: "Thirteen of the lynch victims were shot to death and two of the bodies burned....Eight were hanged and two of their bodies burned. Three were beaten to death, two were hanged and shot, one was beaten and shot and one was beaten, shot and strangled."

* * * *

According to press reports the lynch mobs are beginning the New Year in the right way. Ernest McGhee, Johnny Jones and Isaac Howard, all young negroes are reported to have confessed in Memphis, Tennessee to "attacking a 17-year-old Mississippi girl" The same old gag for the rope-and-faggot gangs to get to work.

A negro, Johnny Dade, has been "spirited" away by the sheriff in Angleton, Texas. He is accused of an ax-slaying and the sheriff hsa taken action presumably to "avoid" lynching.

A young man, Walter R. Reppin, has been sentenced to die by Colorado's new lethal gas method. The governor has been warned by Spencer Penrose, Colorado Springs business man and mining magnate who sent a telegram to the latter "in behalf of the people of El Paso County" that if he grant clemency to Reppin "there may be a danger of a lynching...."

Phila. Food Workers Strike

Fight Against Heavy Odds to Organize Industry

Philadelphia.—During the last couple of weeks a wave of strikes has been sweeping Philadelphia. We had the Taxicab strike, the strike at E. G. Budd Wheel Company and a number of minor labor affair. Comrade Goodman mentioned the above strikes in the issue of the **Militant** of December 30. But he failed to mention the strike which hit the food industry. During the last four weeks the recently organized Transit clerks union, which is in the A. F. of L., has been putting up a militant fight to organize this industry. Up until now it has not been touched by organized labor.

The Fruit Clerks Union has been putting up a magnificent battle against odds. The Penn Fruit Company which this union has been fighting for union recognition has the backing of the Retail Fruit dealers association in its fight to smash the union. They are spending thousands of dollars, telling the workers the union is a racket, etc. Also they have tried to frame the leaders of the strike, in particular the organizer, Eddie Greene, who is the real backbone of the strike.

Four weeks ago before they went on strike the Fruit Clerks union came to the meeting of the Philadelphia Meat Cutters association, also a newly organized union, independent of the A. F. of L., and asked their support of the strike. The organizer made a speech to the effect that since the meat cutters, who also worked for this concern, would in the future also have to fight the Penn Fruit Company for recognition, where the fruit clerks walked out the meat men should also walk out. After the fruit men left the hall the fakers at the head of the meat union said: "Why do we have to go and back them up? We are the strongest union, all they want is to use us for a front."

Federation of Unions

After the strike had gone four weeks they finally came to some agreement Last week the fruit clerks, the grocery and delicatessen clerks, and also the truckers all came out for a federated union. This was last Wednesday. The Teamsters Union's business agent said that they had their agreement before Mr. Sam Cooke the head of Penn Fruit for the last month and he promised the fruit men that the next day, Thursday, his men would not deliver to the stores which the union was battling and that when they signed they would sign for three.

The meat cutters who worked for Penn Fruit now took a vote as to whether they should go out on strike. Unanimous to strike. Thursday, out of 30 men in the union, four walked out from the store at 52 Market St. The other men refused to come out. Pickets were posted at all the six Penn Fruit stores.

Saturday the head of the meat

(Continued on Page 4)

On the N.Y. Waterfront

Seamen Subjected to Vicious Treatment

The unemployed seamen of New York are subjected to severe ill treatment and abuse down in the Seamen's Institute.

If a seaman comes ashore and applies for a cheap bed at the Institute's dormitory, the first question asked there by the clerk is: "Have you got money?" Then he is grilled about his credentials as a bonafide seaman, when and where born, citizen or not, mother's maiden name, religion, what companies sailed on and, finally, the clerk takes a deep smell of the applicant's breath.

Before closing the deal he does not forget to inform the seaman, if he sniffed some of the recent salt on his clothes, that they have a bar, lunch-room and a cigar stand on the premises.

It surely is depressing to see able seamen living here like prisoners, after they have slaved away ten or twenty years of their lives aboard the stinking hulls—thrown ashore and into this dump, often with no more than soleless shoes, ragged pants and a shirts on their bodies, and taking all the insults and abuse on top of it.

The shipping agencies are very particular nowadays in picking the operating staff (crew). One must be a young, husky, and good looking O. S. to get a job as able seaman. Next in order are the licensed men —former officers; and the workaways are also considered before an A. B. has a chance. The latter are despised mainly for the reason that they are too wise to the tricks of the old man and his mates and refuse to do things not ordinarily expected from a sailor.

The conditions on board are intolerable. Repair bills are held down to the lowest possible level, the green seamen themselves doing the job usually done by shore contractors. They are forced to work sometimes even on cargos, that is—loading and unloading the ship.

Every seaman knows that there are no limits on working hours on board a ship. There are supposed to be three watches on deck on all American ships, and no work outside of that, except where and when necessary—of which "when and where" the old man is the sole judge!

The existing paper unions are all discredited amongst the seamen to the extent that no one would listen to joining or fighting with any of them. The M. W. I. U. is considered a bureaucratic circle dominated by a bunch of "fourteenth street sailors", which in fact it is. Hundreds of the best fighters of the marine industry have gone through it, and they all say the same thing. This outfit holds no future for the seamen. The I. S. U. is too well known for its hand-shaking policies with the shipowners and with its many sell-outs in the past. The M. T. W. of the I. W. W. has made some headway lately, and many seamen speak favorably of it. But they have been so long on the field without showing any results, that the seamen give them only sympathy. Very few will actually join and work for its revival.

The seamen of today are in a very desperate mood and are looking with anxiety toward a militant organization. Whether such an organization will come and take the initiative in the coming struggles of the seamen, depends upon the active seamen, who are themselves unorganized as yet. The Communist League of America should give them assistance and help to lay a base for the work, which is so painfully neglected at present.

—A MARINE WORKER.

Unemployment Increase

According to the A. F. of L. figures made public by William Green on December 30, over a half million workers were thrown out of employment during the month of November. "The worst lay-offs", said the report, "were in manufacturing, where over 330,000 lost their jobs. These factory lay-offs are much larger than in any normal year for which we have records; larger also than in any year since depression."

These factory lay-offs, the report continues, represent over half the increase in unemployment from October to November, which was in all about 580,000.

How Pacifism Led Us into War

Franklin D. Roosevelt recently paid a glowing tribute to the memory of his predecessor, Woodrow Wilson on the anniversary of his birth. The greatest virtue of this late president was his "pacific" method of handling international disputes, the earnest endeavor to settle them without recourse to arms. This method, which Roosevelt claims he is attempting to perpetuate, was tested in the crucible of events. How did it work? What were the results of pacifism when espoused by the chief officer holder of the United States?

Pacifism is a gospel consecrated to the abolition of war. It abhors the slaughter of man by man. Believing as it does that armed conflict between nations is a reversion of man to barbarism, an inflammation of his savage instincts caused by a lack of adequate education, it is a confirmed advocate of peace conferences, disarmament, non-aggression pacts, etc., as the sure method of making the Christmas spirit everlasting. The war president, Woodrow Wilson, espoused these ideas.

"He Kept Us Out of War."

This college professor, erudite, a lover of the Jeffersonian rhetoric as employed by the slave owning aristocracy in whose territory and tradition he passed the greater part of his life, was elected to his second term as the man who kept us out of the war" then raging on the European continent. Fact and life later disproved this campaign slogan. In all truth, however, Wilson was quite sincere in his "neutrality" policy towards the European conflict because he had not originated in the environs of imperialistic big business. His life was associated with the middle class, the southern planters included, whose economic interests at the time were wound up more in the domestic than in the foreign market. Cold reality and the center of economic gravity proved stronger than Wilson's empty phrases and pacifistic flourishes, as we shall see.

Wilson, the Dove of Peace

The outbreak of the mad scramble for spoils in Europe found America in a peculiarly advantageous position, which permitted Wilson to be the dove of peace and the thermometer of the anti-war sentiments then current in this country. The pacifists were satisfied that it was a "foreign" war in which the U. S. had no reason to be entangled. The bankers were content to finance food and commodity exports to both the Allies and the Entente. The munition makers sold death dealing weapons to all the belligerent powers. The people did not want war and paid no particular attention to the atrocity stories emenating from English or German sources.

Even the militaristic Theodore Roosevelt could support the policy of neutrality. He expressed the prevailing sentiment when he said in an article in the **New Outlook** for September 23, 1914, that "very probably nothing that we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her." Wilson was in his element. No decision was required of him and, righteously indignant, he could reprimand the "mad dogs" that were making a shambles out of Europe.

Pacifism Leading Into War

The workers and the people in general were lulled into a false security. They had sopped up the propaganda of Wilson's publicity agent, George Creel, who warned in the 1916 presidential campaign that: "Repudiation of Woodrow Wilson involves repudiation of the policy of neutrality and a return to the evil days, when armed force was the only method of adjusting disputes." But even as the people were thinking that their intellectual president heeded none of the inspired war stories, and documentary evidence seems to bear that out, events were at work that knocked Wilson off the fence.

The British government barred all shipments to Germany or its allies and to make this certain the British navy blockaded the North Sea, intervening all vessels with Germany or Central power ports as destination declaring their cargoes "contraband". Despite all of Wilson's ardent protestations, this field for imperialist investment and commodity export was definitely and irrevocably closed. The bankers were sore. But the Allied war needs were lucrative enough. Concurrently the tide of the war was turning in favor of German imperialism, thereby jeopardizing Wall Street profits and the return on their huge loans to the Allies....

The "War to End All Wars"

The atrocity stories became more gruesome. Preparedness talk increased in intensity. The Huns were destroying civilization, etc., etc. The vested interests, the real rulers of the nation, brought pressure to bear on the President, the nominal ruler, who began to fume at the barbarism of "Prussian militarism". That Wilson was a pacifist, a believer in the "human way of adjuditing disputes between nations" was no obstacle to his bellicose threats and warnings to Germany. On the contrary, pacifism was a distinct help to him.

In his war message to congress he reflected the "frustrated" hopes voiced by press, pulpit, educators, and others, declaring that he had tried to keep the country out of the European holacaust with all the strength at his command, that America was a peace-loving nation. But now it was impossible to abstain any longer, for Germany had violated every law of man and God; the "Boche" was trampling on the interests of humanity and the peoples of this country would be cowards and traitors, indeed, if they did not lend a hand to drive back the black hordes threatening civilization. The pacifism that had endeavored to keep America out of the war was not at an end, however. It had merely become belligerent now. Its slogan was "war to end all wars" and Wilson was the apostle.

"To Make the World Safe for Democracy".

The President, who not long before had boasted that America was "too proud to fight", plunged into the job of the successful prosecution of the war "to make the world safe for democracy." (This was no deterrent to the administration in imprisoning Eugene V. Debs and hundreds of others for insisting on democracy in Wilson's country.) While the Princeton University president was sending hundreds of American workers across the seas to kill and be killed for the "humanitarianism" of Wall Street's profits, his pacifism continued unabated.

Prussian militarism was defeated. Wilson went to Paris full of hope for his idealistic solution of the conflict only to find that the victorious bandits of allied imperialism scorned his pacifism, demanding their share of the spoils they had won. Wilson capitulated. He signed the ignominious Treaty of Versailles, which perpetuated and deepened all the imperialistic wounds of the war, receiving in return ironic concessions, like the League of Imperialistic Brigands at Geneva, self determination of several nations which were meat for France and Great Britain, etc., Wilson was hailed in Europe as the evangel of peace. The social democracy went wild over the great American democrat. He was acclaimed as a godsend, literally. Then he returned to America....

The Downfall of Wilson

The capitalist class wanted none of his peace of Versailles. They lined up the country solidly and hostilely gaainst him. The pacifism of Wilson, that had led America into the war and had prosecuted it successfully, was now outlived. American imperialism had other intersts. Congress repudiated Wilson and he was showered with a storm of abuse by the press which called him a "hopeless visionary".

Wilson died a broken man, but pacifism did not die with him. The clouds of a new imperialist war for a new dvision of the world's territories and a further annihilation of the flower of the working class hang heavily as if there had never been a "war to end all wars". Pacifism stands at the helm again. Another Wilson, many Wilsons will be on hand to lead us into a war, with other slogans perhaps but with fundamentally the same aims—profits, profits and more profits.

Be wary of pacifists and pacifism! This is our message, our commemoration of the late Woodrow Wilson.

—GEO. CLARKE.

Chaco=Imperialist Battleground

Having raged for two years the war between the South American republics, Bolivia and Paragauy, for the posession of the Gran Chaco region continues almost without interruption. The complicated interests involved, the existence of various "peace" agencies interfering with each other's activities, and the extreme difficulty of military operations in the region, are the principal reasons why this war has dragged on for so long a time without any solution.

The Seventh Pan-American Congress which met recently in Montevideo was unable to do anything to settle the Chaco dispute. In part this failure may be due to the fact that while U. S. imperialism dominated at the congress it was British imperialism's protegee Paraguay, who appeared to have the upper hand in the war during the period of the Congress. While American imperialism emerged from the Pan American Congress with some gains, imperialist rival, Great Britain, is still far from defeated. The recent successes of the Paraguayan army indicate this, although the growing influence of Wall St. in Argentina may yet defeat their plans. Argentina, while formally working for peace in the region, has in reality given moral and material support to Paraguay. In this the Argentine government has only served the interests of British imforts to win support in Argentina perialism. If Secretary Hull's efforts to win support in Argentina are successful, the Paraguayan generals are due for a major surprise.

British and American Oil Interests

The Chaco region which for years has been a bone of contention between Bolivia and Paraguay, is made up of an extensive grassy plain, an area of thorn forest and the swampy jungle bottoms lands along the Pilcomayo River. Both of the disputants have outside of the Chaco great undeveloped areas, and their real interest in the Chaco is not for their own use but rather for the interests of British and American oil companies.

The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey has a virtual monopoly over the immense oil deposits of Bolivia proper, although these have been as yet very little developed. The Bolivian deposits are at the eastern base of the Andes and the piping of the oil over a mountain range more than 11,000 feet high is too expensive to be a practical undertaking. The natural outlet for Bolivian oil therefor is by pipe line to some point on the Paraguay River, accessible to ocean steamers.

There is reputed to be some oil in the Chaco itself but this is a matter of secondary importance, as are also the other natural resources of the Chaco, such as hardwoods, grazing land, etc. The Royal Dutch Shell Oil Company is sparing no pains to block the interests of Stanard Oil. In this of course the Royal Dutch counts on the full support of British imperialism, which has therefor for several years aided Paraguay in her long-standing frontier dispute over the arena.

War Two Years Old

The dispute over the Gran Chaco dates from Spanish colonial times, and has on numerous occasions threatened war. On several occasions in the late 1920's frontier clashes were reported, but the actual warfare on a large scale did not commence until about two years ago. Since then a continual seesaw sort of fighting has been going on over a wide front, without either side gaining any decisive advantage. The same "forts" that were being first few weeks of fighting are still captured and re-captured during the being captured and re-captured today. There have been periods in which the Bolivian forces would win victory after victory and then it would be time for the Paraguayans to come in for their share. During the rainy season, operations had to be almost completely suspended, and during the dry season scouting parties would die of thirst in the grassy desert and the waterless forest. There have been close to a hundred thousand killed in all since the war commenced, which is a terrible toll when one considers the population of the countries participating (Bolivia: 2 1-2 million; Paraguay a scant 700,000).

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OPEN FORUM

WAR DANGER IN THE FAR EAST

WILL JAPAN ATTACK THE SOVIET UNION IN THE SPRING OF 1934?

What Will Be the Effect of Recognition of the Soviet Union on the Conflict Between America and Japan?

Speaker:
JACK WEBER

Sunday, January 14 ,8 P. M.

International Workers School
126 East 16th Street
New York iCty

The Recovery Program of the Socialist Party

The Socialist Party has issued a five-point program for recovery from the crisis: reduction of interest on all indebtedness; reduction of the capital structure of all business and utilities affected with a public interest (are there any that aren't?; a capital levy; a steep increase in inheritance taxes; the issuance of currency to finance the public works program.

It is clear at one glance that this program offers no threat to the capitalist system. On the contrary, it is designed as its name indicates, to HELP THE CAPITALISTS RECOVER FROM THE CRISIS. That is also the aim of the official political parties of the capitalist class, and of all the government agencies including the vast network of the governmental agencies including the vast network of the recovery administrations.

Let us take a closer look at the program. Point one calls for a reduction on all indebtedness including farm mortgages to 2 or 2 1-2%. Whom will this benefit? According to the December bulletin of the National City Bank—"the chief debtors are governments, coorporations and credit institutions." "It is plain from the figures of the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., that the overwhelming bulk of the debts are owed by corporatons or by persons falling within the rich or well-to-do income groups, and not by the poor." The Socialist Party recovery program would cut down the interest the *banks pay on workers'* savings, afford them some relief in connection with mortgages and lift a tremendous load from the shoulders of the capitalist class.

Point four calls for "a steep increase in inheritance taxes". What does the Socialist Party recovery program propose to do with this money? Use it for unemployment insurance? No. "—the proceeds— would be used for the retirement of government bonds."!

Point five calls for the issuance of currency to finance the Public Works program. Inasmuch as this runs into billions of dollars, point five is tantamount to outright, unlimited curency inflation. What this means for workers is well known—drastic cuts in real wages through soaring prices.

The Socialist party has the brass to say in *its statement accompanying* its recovery program that it is against currency inflation. It explains the contradiction on the all-too-familiar philosophy of the lesser evil. To finance its Public Works program the government issues bonds on which it has to pay interest. The Socialist Party wants to save the capitalist government about four million dollars in interest. Instead of selling bonds, says the S. P., run the printing presses. It is true this in inflation but it is justified by "—other inflationary measures already undertaken."

Not only is the S. P. recovery program designed to help the capitalists get out of the crisis, but it is aiming squarely at the workers.

For a proletarian, revolutionary party every difficulty of the capitalist class is an opportunity to press forward for its overthrow. The revolutionists fight to ameliorate the conditions of the workers but not to help the capitalist system to "recover". The periodic crises of capitalism create objective conditions favorable for the mass movements of the workers to develop to higher political levels until at last they reach the plane of the revolutionary situation and the overthrow of the capitalist system. The only recovery program the party of the proletarian revolution puts forth is the program of the proletarian dictatorship and planned economy under it.

—T. STAMM.

Toronto Mass Meeting on Russian Recognition

Toronto.—On Tuesday, December 19th, the Toronto branrh held a mass meeting on recognition of the Soviet Union by the U S.. A., with comrade MacDonald as speaker and comrade Spector in the chair. This meeting was one of the best attended that we have held, there being fully 700 jammed into the assembly hall of the Labor Lyceum. The seats were filled and workers were standing around the back and sides of the hall.

The Stalinites turned out in full force to this meeting, making their presence known by frequent and noisy attempts to disrupt the meeting. The questions of the Stalinites reflected the extremely low ideological level which prevails among them but the discussion period revealed their complete bankruptcy even more plainly. Only one young comrade, a member of the Y. C. L. attempted openly to defend the agreement, in three or four short sentences, on the grounds that the Russian workers have the task of building Socialism while the workers in the capitalist countries have the task of fighting capitalism. Apparently the two have nothing to do with each other. A "Friend of the Soviet Union" who carefully denied that he is a Stalinite made a feeble attempt to justify the agreement. After this no one could be persuaded to take the floor. The Stalinites, vociferous enough when comrade MacDonald was speaking, could not as much as get up on the feet to defend their case, if they have one, in discussion.

This meeting was a decided gain for us. Our case found wide support in the audience.

The Toronto branch is experimenting in a forum in one of the suburban districts, Mt. Dennis. We have held two meetings already and judging by these there seems every possibility of carrying it through.

OPEN FORUM

Manhattan Spartacus Youth Club

WILL THE UNITED STATES RULE THE WORLD?

Speaker: **Herbert Capelis**

Friday, January 12, 1934, 8 P. M. at 126 East 16th Street.

The Story of a Boy Who Made Good

At the disgraceful affair in Brownsville last week, where the Party officially mobilized to prevent comrades Shachtman and Dasch from speaking, one of the wildest of the party hooligans was Joe Ross. In the three years or so that he has been in Brownsville, Ross has forged steadily ahead in the ranks of the Y. C. L. and Communist party to the position of the section Workers School Director. He proved by hard, untiring, unstinted, devoted and conscientous, day to day work that he is fit for nomination as one of the best disciplines of the "best disciple". A thorough account of his revolutionary (he confesses in off moments to being one) activity would read like a dime adventure story. Sufficient be it to merely honor him by pointing out some of the bright spots in his career.

Hero's Career Begins

In 1930 the district office of the Young Communist League sent him down to take complete charge of *Pioneer work. After a few months* of complete control and organization, the Pioneers withered away.

The Y. C. L. decided that a change of scenery might prove beneficial to all parties concerned, so he was sent in to the American Youth Club, where the Party and League fraction voted him in as general secretary of the club. Joe proved to be long on speeches and short on work, so one membership meeting when it was found that the membership amounted to more than the fraction, Ross was politely removed.

The Paterson silk strike then broke out. It was remembered that our hero had done some sterling work among the Brownsville Pioneers. To Paterson he then hied himself.

On the basis of the wreckage he spread around in Paterson, Ross was appointed Section Organizer of the Young Communist League—no less. Inside of two or three months he was demoted, which is quite a record even for the Y. C. L. Not one whit discouraged his next function which was to become the Agit-Prop director of the section. A month of this and the enraged League members cried halt. If ordinary rank and filers could not recognize ability the District Office could. He became literature and Young Worker agent of the Brownsville section. Poor Joe, at the first membership meeting *after this latest appointment*, he was requested to try his hand at something else.

Still Running Strong

Our hero obliged by joining the Students Forum, and carrying out a furious fulmination against a couple of counter-revolutionary "Trotskyites". After a herculean and intensive struggle in the line of 15th plenum (this was before the famous open letter) against these disrupters, Joe succeeded in having them expelled. Strange to say, with the renegades out and the Forum kosher, Joe removed himself from the club. Some were unkind enough to say that as long as slander was the main activity of Forum, Ross would have remained a member. This was however, traced to one of the expelled counter-revolutionaries, which of course whitewashed Joe.

His next venture was as **Daily Worker agent.** Perhaps he had visions of building up a tremendous route, being recognized by Franklin, Hathaway and the District Office and—but alas-alack—the routes decreased the sales fell down and Joe with them.

As a reward for his outstanding work in the Y. C. L. Joe Ross was assigned to full time work in the Party. Recently a workers' school was organized in Brownsville. Who better fitted as its head—whose record better entitled them to the important position of grinding out best disciples—than Joe Ross?

There may be one thing that Joe will have a hard time explaining to his students. And that is why despite his howling at the Shachtman-Dasch meeting, when the time passed from slander, bravado and hooliganism to action—he was seen slinking down the stairs accompanied by another disciple—Gilbert nee Joseph Simonoff (expelled from the Workers Party) alias Simmons (expelled from the Communist Party). It will be a good trick if Joe can do it—we hope to be permitted to be a member of the class when he tries it.

—AL DASCH.

MOVIE REVIEW

Like **Cavalcade,** which heads the list, George Cukor's and Kenneth MacGowan's pictorization of Louisa May Alcott's famous novel, **Little Women,** is considered by writers in the capitalist press as one of the ten best pictures of 1933. We have not seen all the pictures put out in the past year and we cannot presume to offer a list of the best pictures. But we are positive that this picture should not be included *in any list save one which aims to* name the worst pictures.

The picture is well cast and well acted. Nice words can be said about the direction and photography.

But what would only emphasize still more the utter triviality of its content. As most of our readers know from having read the book it is a story of four girls who grow up in a prim New England home. Their feelings for one another and their love for their parents and, later their husbands, forms the theme of this story. Great art can be woven out of this stuff. But for that it is necessary to illuminate profoundly the human soul.

The picture does not begin to do that. It says nothing original or profound about the well springs of the mind and heart. It reeks from *beginning to end with* sickening sentimentality. All the people in this story, without exception, be they of high station or low, are kindly souls. Generosity flows without interruption from opening to close. Verily, it is Pollyanna's paradise.

But from the social point of view the picture is even worse. Its action takes place in the period of the Civil War and, presumably, the years following. The time element is so badly handled that its passage is not clearly indicated. The horrible suffering which the war and the reconstruction period brought in their wake sweeps by this family to leave them untouched except for a temporary but not too serious poverty and the wounding of the girls' father, also not too seriously. It almost never enters their conversation and it has almost no influence on their actions. The inflation of 1861-65 increased the cost of living to more than double what it was in 1860 and ruined thousands of workers' and petty bourgeois families. But you would never guess it from this picture. On the other hand a mysterious invalidism, a result of an attack of scarlet fever contracted in a charitable visit to a neighbor, carries off one of the girls.

It is no good to argue that these shafts are aimed at the book for the defects of which the picture *makers are not responsible. If* the function of art is to illuminate life—and the cinema is an art form—then it becomes the duty of every artist, whether he be actor, producer or director, to strive with his whole soul to tell the truth about life.

The players in this picture did the best they could within the limits of the scenario. But the producers have fashioned a false picture of life in general and of life during the Civil War in particular. For our part we do not expect anything much better from the talent which sells itself body and soul to the capitalist propaganda machine. Before a man can tell the truth in art he must own his soul. Cukor and McGowan apparently do not.

—KINO.

FREE TORGLER, DIMITROFF, POPOFF AND TANEFF

The **N. Y. Herald-Tribune** for Jan. 2, apprizes us of the fact that the Nazi murderers who failed in to frame-up the Reichstag fire defendants are looking for a country willing to grant asylum to the three *Bulgarians. Nothing is said* of Torgler. Nor is anything mentioned concerning the outcome of this "search".

Meanwhile all four of the innocent Communists remain imprisoned in the Fascist dungeons. The request of the Committee to aid the victims of the Hitler Terror to safely escort the exonerated prisoners over the German Border has been denied.

It is quite obvious that Hitler's Brown Beasts are not at all disposed to liberate Torgler, Dimitroff, Popoff and Taneff. Their salvation rests, as before, with the international working class.

Just Off the Press

TEN YEARS

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

By MAX SHACHTMAN

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The Railroad Brotherhoods

Ritualistic Mummery at Meetings

IV.

We think it can be truthfully said that all reactionary arrange*ments of today* were at one time progressive forces in human development. It was only as they outlived their usefulness that they became gradually reactionary and therefore oppressive to the people. This same law of development applies to the secret work in our Lodge and Division meetings.

Pioneer Needed Secrecy

When the Brotherhood pioneers first started to organize the railroad unions they did so at the risk of losing their jobs and were often fired and blacklisted against getting another job. It was therefore quite natural for them to act in secret and to throw all kinds of protection around their meetings against the bosses' stool-pigeons and informers. Pass words, signs and counter signs, grips and other ceremonies, well known to the ordinary brotherhood member, were useful and therefore progressive.

Today all ritualistic and secret work has long since outlived its usefulness and is therefore a reactionary force and serves just the opposite purpose to that was originally intended. Originally the secret work was intended to protect the organized labor movement against its enemies. Today the secret work protects the enemies of the labor movement by serving as a gag-law and as an obstruction against the spreading of ideas.

Secret Work Now Isolates the Unions

The secret work as it acts today serves to isolate each local lodge from the others. It also keeps them separated from one another, and acts as a splendid insulation against circulation of members' opinions. It is strictly a reactionary force and that is precisely why all these useless and overpaid craft union officals, big and small, are for the continuance of the secret work.

The Firemen's constitution provides specifically that Vice Presidents and General Organizers shall, "visit and instruct subordinate lodges in the unwritten work of the order". The 21 complete sets of craft officials which the railroad workers maintain are conscious of the fact that as long as they can keep their members busy with such harmless pastime as the mumbling of passwords back and forth and the juggling of signs and countersigns at their meetings they are not starting nor spreading anything progressive nor constructive.

For instance, when the workers are listening to the prayer by the chaplin and rehearsing long and foolish ritualistic ceremonies at the opening and closing of their union meetings, they are not discussing Amalgamation, freedom of expression, nor the cutting of high salaries.

Aids System of Gag-Rule

The secret work helps the Grand Lodge Officers to keep the railroad workers uninformed and separated from one another. Together with the rest of the gag-laws and strictly censored Brotherhood Press the secret work rounds out a complete system of gag-rule in the Brotherhoods that must be exposed to light and eliminated by the progressive minority.

Brother progressives, use the columns of the **Militant** to spread progressive ideas in the railroad unions.

—A. E.

Discussion Article

On the Youth Resolution

The draft resolution of the National Youth Committee states that it bases itself "in all essentials" upon the youth thesis of the second national conference. The predominant note of the 1931 thesis was to stress the educational and cultural character of youth work and at the same time to follow dutifully the line of the Y. C. L. in the participa*tion in the economic struggles of* the working class.

In 1931 our thesis declared that "In textile, coal, automobile, radio, etc., the youth should be organized into the revolutionary unions or leagues." Our 1933 resolution—in the face of the triumph of Fascism in Germany, the collapse of the 2nd International and the need of building a 4th International and a new Communist party in America—not only fails to correct this fundamentally erroneous trade union policy but slurs over the tasks of the young Communists in the trade union field, which are intimately linked up with the new tasks before us—the building of a new party and its youth section. These outlived formulas, from the period when we were a faction of the Y. C. L. must be cast aside. Today they can serve only as a millstone around our necks.

The Policy of 1921

In 1921 when Muenzenberg was the spokesman for the policies laid down by Lenin and Trotsky and not the Stalinist mouthpiece of today he wrote that the first and foremost duty of the young Communists "consists in collecting the millions of young workers of all countries into young Communist organizations, to train and teach them in these organizations and bring them into the Communist parties as trained, capable, and tried revolutionaries and Communist fighters This means of gaining millions of young Communists is **above all an economic struggle."** (Communist Review, October 1921, No. 6).

When Muenzenberg wrote these words the problem was the same that we face today, the development of mass Communist parties. The 2nd C. I. thesis states "It is only the **power of organization** of the Communists that enables the advanced guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole class." At this moment it is of utmost importance to stress these fundamental aspects of our work more than ever. The young Communists can serve as the broad *educational organizers of the youth* only if they succeed in directly participating in the organization of young workers within the sphere of the economic struggles of the working class. Our resolution stressed the educational and cultural character of youth work, but *fails to stress* that the only way this work can be successfuly carried on is through the slogan—into the masses! Into the elemental economic struggles of the working class!

Basis of the Youth Movement

Wherever the League is active, the young Communists must forge the basis for the revolutionary youth movement. Even where the League has as yet no basis, we must proceed with our work, always under the guidance of the League. We establish broad young workers clubs where we are confronted with masses of backward youth, who are as yet too raw to enter a young Communist organization. But always we form these clubs only on the basis of the class struggle; at all times we center our efforts upon winning young workers directly into the ranks of our Communist youth organization.

Not for one moment do we cast aside the varied aspects and activities of a Communist youth organization. Classes and study groups are of utmost importance. The cultural and social aspects of our activities (*socials, sports, dances,* dramatics) are important in so far as they meet the needs of young workers and serve as a means of attracting and holding them within our organization. However, these activities become meaningless and academic if divorced from the *participation* in the class struggle.

Political Leadership

In connection with educating and training young workers to become Communists, it is of primarily importance to stress that this can be achieved only through the political subordination of the Spartacus Youth Clubs to the C. L. A. This political subordination, however, is not a mechanical process. Our relationship to the C. L. A. must be viewed in the same manner as expressed by comrade Trotsky in the "New Course". "It is wholly inadequate that *the youth should* repeat over formulas, it is necessary that the youth should take our revolutionary formulas fighting, transfer them into flesh and blood, work out for themselves their own opinion with that courage that, comes from sincere conviction and *independence* of character."

Tasks of Immediate Period

For the immediate period before us, the success or failure of our work depends upon the degree of our participation in the main task that faces the C. L. A.—the building of a revolutionary party of which the youth section must be an integral part. It is not enough to say that "the strategy and tactics of the Party (C. L. A.) are the strategy and tactics of the League (S. Y. C.)"; it is also necessary to lay down a concrete program of action whereby we may, together with the C. L. A., and under its guidance enter upon new fields of the economic struggles of the American workers. Only in this way can we recruit fresh and healthy reserves and build a firm foundation for a Communist youth organi*zation* that will serve its revolutionary function in the class struggle.

—DAVE LEVITT.

Pioneer Publishers

We are starting a drive to build up the Pioneer Publishers. It is *superfluous to explain to you* the need of a Marxian publishing house in America in these critical times for the working class. Reaction is marshalling its forces on an unprecedented scale as a result of the betrayals by the Social Democracy and the bankruptcy of Stalinism. Never before was there a greater need to make the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky acessible to American workers than today; never before was the American proletariat more ready to digest the great experiences of the October revolution and the lessons of the ten years relentless fight of the Left Opposition under the leadership of comrade Leon Trotsky.

The Pioneer Publishers have been spreading these ideas in the past, thanks to great sacrifices on the part of individual comrades and friends who come along at the right time with contributions and loans. Many of the books and pamphlets published by us are now out of print; more are going to be so in the very near future. Manuscripts are piling up. Many brilliant writings in foreign languages await translation and publication. The workers are literally knocking at our doors for literature.

Here is a practical plan to help the Pioneer Publishers. Comrades should buy a $5 certificate in the P. P. which will entitle them to a *40% discount on books* published by the P. P. and to 20% reduction on books of other publishers ordered through us.

LAST OPPORTUNITY

We are glad to announce that we have a few more copies of **Labor and Internationalism** by Louis L. Lordwin. The supply on hand is limited. All those who want to obtain this 700 page book should rush their orders immediately. It is only $1.50 postpaid.

Have you a copy of **My Life** by Trotsky? If not order one from Pioneer Publishers It sells for $2.50. (Publishers Price: $5.00).

CORRECTION

Comrade Trotsky's article that appeared last week (Hitler the Pacifist) was made from the French text and contained a number of errors.

The following corrections should be made:

In the first pargraph instead of "No more consoling is the fact, etc." read, "All the more consoling is the fact, etc." And in the same paragraph the last sentence instead of "But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he is able, etc." read, "But Ossietzki is imprisoned for the very reason that he should not be able, etc."

In the third paragraph instead of "It is not very difficult to dispel *their doubts.*" read, "It *is not* very easy to dispel their doubts."

The fourth paragraph is a hodge podge because several lines were left out. Beginning with, "And the Leipzig trial shows" the next should go on to read as follows: "that the medico-legal expert testimony of the Nazis merits unbounded confidence. If in this world there existed only sincerity and love of peace, life would probably be made an eternal delight, etc."

In the sixth paragraph instead of "His nervous system at all times had succeeded, etc." read "His nervous system by that time should have succeeded, etc." And further down instead of "the light avenger von Papen" read "the light-minded avenger von Papen."

In the seventh paragraph (first sentence) instead of "Hitler still *inclined in those days, etc.*" read "Hitler was still forced in those days, etc." And in the very next sentence instead of " . . . from its whole inclination France can come to an agreement only on the basis of a change, etc" read " . . . on its own inclination France cannot come to an agreement on the basis of a change, etc." And in the same long sentence (at the close) instead of "the Germans must re-arm at once" read "the Germans must rearm beforehand."

In the ninth paragraph instead of "....or, to use a better known expression, a passport" read: "....or, to use a more precise expression, a master-key, etc." And further on, instead of, "Despite all the respect we have for the two sympathetic journalists, etc." read: "With all due respect to the testimony of the two deeply-moved journalists, etc.

In the next paragraph instead of, "It is not at all the intention of the present article to give counsel to *those, whoever they may* be, who decide the fate of Europe: they truly know themselves what they have to do" read, "Least of all is it the intention of the present article to give any counsel whatever to those who decide the fate of Europe surely they themselves know what they have to do."

And in the last paragraph instead of "Paris would rather have a knife." read **"Paris vaut bien une messe!** (Paris is well worth a mass!"). And finally, instead of "Hitler must painfully avoid a preventive war, etc." read: "Hitler must painstakingly avoid a preventive war, etc."

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Roosevelt's Speech on Latin America

Roosevelt's speech at the Wilson Dinner is heralded by the press as a new policy of "cooperation" in the western hemisphere based on the renunciation of armed intervention and the desire for world peace. In reality, behind this speech lurks a new stage in the rivalry of the imperialist powers for hegemony over Latin America. The speech comes on the heels of American imperialist work at Montevideo. Behind the talk of non-intervention, armament reduction and peace is cloaked America's bitter struggle with England for the domination of Latin America.

The Roosevelt-Hull talk of non-intervention in Latin America is an attempt to line up a South American bloc and to keep Europe out of Wall Street's "backyard." The talk of intervention has about as much real weight as the talk of peace and arms reduction. Hull's position at Montevideo on this question is a joker that only fools and puppet delegates could accept.

The Argentina representative endeavored to save Hull's face by suggesting that the subject of non-intervention be referred to an Inter-American committee for definition. Hull supported this move, but it was impossible to jam it through the convention; and when the final vote was taken Hull was forced to retreat and vote for the resolution with reservations that make the proposal meaningless and an insult to Latin America. Roosevelt said he opposed ARMED intervention—as if there were *not several other* forms of intervention which, under certain conditions, are more effective. The Roosevelt-Hull non-intervention talk coincides with the most subtle form of intervention in Cuba and other Latin American countries.

The position of Roosevelt on the League of Nations, is just a polite way of saying that America intends to continue her role of dominating "observer' at the League Council. There the struggle of the U. S. against Europe takes on special forms. The meaningless gesture of non-intervention in Latin America, a sop to the Western Hemisphere, must be supplemented by a more intense struggle against Europe. The aim is to retain the dominating position in Latin America by preventing England, Germany and others from absorbing the markets.

The talk of world peace and armed reduction is only a maneuver to cover up the mad race of America in the competition for armaments.

The basic antagonism of the imperialist powers for control of Latin America is that between the United States and England. Roosevelt's speech is a warning of a new onslaught. Competition from Fascist Germany comes second and America will fight on this front also. But it must be kept in mind that trade in Latin America revolves around the pound and the dollar, not the mark and the yen.

The economic position of America in relation to Latin America is the key to the policies at Montevideo and what has followed. Before the war America held a secondary position in the economic life of Latin America; after the war America dominated. Exports to Latin America grew 279% from 1910 to 1929 while imports increased 126% in the same period. Capital investments increased from one and a third billion dollars in 1913 to five billion in 1929. While the percentage of American export is about *eleven percent of the total production*, in many South American countries the percentage of export reaches 35 to 65% of production. Cuban export reaches 65%. The bulk of the export of the United States to Latin America is manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and the investment of capital, while imports from these countries consist primarily of raw material.

A greater share of the world market is a burning question for the continued domination of American imperialism. Since Latin America offers possibilities in this sphere America's struggle against England and other contenders will be carried on in the most ruthless manner there.

A Letter on the Hitler Boycott

Dear Comrades:

December 30, 1933

Some months ago the International Left Opposition and the Communist League of America came out in favor of a militant transportation boycott of Hitler Germany. At the time you published an editorial on this question, I was moved, although not a member of your group, to write you endorsing your stand. I still feel that the consumers' boycott for Jewish relief is no substitute for a labor struggle on behalf of labor. Only by international labor action, the refusal to transport goods in and out of Germany, until certain demands are granted (release of political prisoners, restoration of right to organize workers independently, publish labor papers, etc.), can a smashing blow be dealt to Hitlerism.

The Old Position of Comintern

As I pointed out in my letter some weeks ago, a similar view was taken of similar problems years ago by the *Comintern* under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. At the time of the Hungarian White Terror and the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in Spain, for example, the C. I. sent out ringing calls for international action by all workers to smash these reactionaries by means of a transportation boycott. When the idea was first brought up with respect to Hitler, however, the Comintern under the leadership of Stalin's office boys, turned a cold shoulder to it. They found it to be ineffective, unrevolutionary because it would divert some trade from Germany to other countries and thereby benefit other capitalists, etc., etc. The C. I. denounced the proposal in the **Rundschau** (Basel) and elsewhere.

But the validity of the idea could not be obliterated. Spontaneously, workers in France, Belgium, Spain, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere began to put the transportation boycott into effect. The chief struggle was by lonsghoremen who repeatedly refused to unload ships displaying the Nazi flag. On one occasion even, Scandinavian members of a Red Trade Union refused to load Soviet naphtha on a German boat flying the Hakenkreuz. Efforts made by the International Left Opposition and other organizations to spread the idea of a united front transport boycott for joint, immediate demands have not been entirely fruitless; important labor organizations of various political tendencies in half a dozen countries have endorsed the idea.

A Typical Stalinist "Turn".

After attacking the idea, the Comintern and its sections shut up on *the matter like a school of clams.* But now they have quietly executed a change: the **Daily Worker** of December 30, attacking Bill Green for his sure-enough rotten piece of faking on the consumers' boycott, comes out in favor of "the formation of united front committees to be set up for effective action to stop the import and transportation of German goods." It even contrives to find a quotation from Bela Kun: "The revolutionary workers must see clearly that the merchandise boycott of German fascism is a deception if isolated from the general anti-Fascist struggle, if conducted without a transportation boycott."

Thus the C.P. of the U. S. A., and presumably the C. I. which gives it its line, have made another turn and, as usual when the turn is in the right direction, it is a turn to the line laid down by the Left Opposition, which the Stalinists first persistently rejected and ignored. Of course, you can't expect them to thank you for the idea. What you can do is to try to bring the idea off paper and force the Stalinists not simply to talk about a transportation boycott, but to do something about it. Can't you call a united front conference on the matter?

Sincerely,

—HARRY STRANG.

IN JEWISH

EUROPE AFTER HITLER'S SEIZURE OF POWER

Speaker:

JACK BERLIN

Just Returned from a Trip to Europe

SUNDAY, JAN. 7—8. P. M.

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THE SOVIET UNION & THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

How the Question is Posed

The break with the Communist International and the orientation toward the New International have posed anew the question of the social character of the U. S. S. R. Doesn't the collapse of the Communist International also mean at the same time the collapse of that state which emerged from the October Revolution? Here, indeed, in both instance one and the same ruling organization is concerned: the Stalinist apparatus. It had applied identical methods within the U. S. S. R. as in the international arena. We, Marxists, were never patrons of the double bookkeeping system of the Brandlerites according to which the policies of the Staliinsts are impeccable in the U.S.S.R. but ruinous outside the boundaries of U.S.S.R.* It is our conviction that they are equally ruinous in both instances. If so, isn't it then necessary to recognize the simultaneous collapse of the Communist International and the liquidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R.?

At first sight such reasoning appears to be irrefutable. But it is erroneous. While the methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy are homogeneous in all spheres, the objective results of these methods depend upon external conditions, or to use the language of mechanics, the resistivity of the material. The Communist International represented an instrument that was intended for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet government represents an instrument for the preservation of conquests of an already accomplished overturn. The Communist parties of the West have no inherited capital. Their strength (in reality, their weakness) lies within themselves and only within themselves. Nine-tenths of the strength of the Stalinist apparatus lies not in itself but in the social changes wrought by the victorious revolution. Still, this consideration alone does not decide the question: but it does bear a great methodological significance. It shows us how and why the Stalinist apparatus could completely squander its meaning as the international revolutionary factor, and yet preserve a part of its progressive meaning as the gate-keeper of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution. This dual position—we may add—represents in itself one of the manifestations of the unevenness of historical development.

The correct policies of a workers' state are not reducible *solely* to national economic construction. If the revolution does not expand on the international arena along the proletarian spiral, it must immutably begin to contract along the bureaucratic spiral within the national framework. If the dictatorship of the proletariat does not become European and world-wide, it must head towards its own collapse. All this is entirely incontestable on a wide historical perspective. But everything revolves around the concrete historical periods. Can one say that the policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy have led *already* to the liquidation of the workers' state? That is the question now.

Against the assertion that the workers' state is apparently already liquidated there arises first and foremost the important methodological position of Marxism. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established by means of a political overturn and a civil war of three years. The class theory of society and historical experience both equally testify to the impossibility of the victory of the proletariat through peaceful methods, that is, without grandiose class battles, weapons in hand. How, in that case, is the imperceptible, "gradual", bourgeois counter-revolution conceivable? Until now, in any case, feudal as well as bourgeois counter-revolutions have never taken place "organically" but they have invariably required the intervention of military surgery. In the last analysis the theories of reformism, in so far as reformism generally has attained to theory, are always based upon the inability to understand that class antagonisms are profound and irreconcilable; hence, the perspective of a peaceful transformation of capitalism into socialism. The Marxian thesis relating to the catastrophic character of the transfer of power from the hands of one class into the hands of another applies not only to revolutionary periods, when history madly sweeps ahead, but also to the periods of counter-revolution when society rolls backwards. He who asserts that the Soviet government has been

* Sage American Brandlerites (the Lovestone group) complicate the question; the economic policy of the Stalinists, if you please, is impeccable, but the political regime in he U. S. S. R. is bad: there is no democracy. It does not occur to these theoreticians to ask themselves why then does Stalin liquidate democracy when his economic policies are correct and successful? Isnt it out of fear that if proletarian democracy obtained, the party and the working class would express much too restlessly and violently their enthusiasm over his economic policies?

The Class Nature of the Soviet State - *by Leon Trotsky*

gradually changed from proletarian to bourgeois is only, so to speak, running backwards the film of reformism.

Our opponents may gainsay, this is a general methodologic proposition and that no matter how important in itself it is nevertheless too abstract to solve the question. Truth is always concrete. The thesis of the irreconcilability of class contradictions should and must direct us in our analysis but cannot replace its results. One must probe deeply into the material content of the historical process itself.

We reply, it is true, a methodological argument does not exhaust the problem. But in any case it transfers the burden of proof to the opposing side. Critics, who consider themselves Marxists, must demonstrate in what manner the bourgeoisie that had lost power in a three years' struggle could resume this power without any battles. However, since our opponents make no attempt to invest their appraisal of the Soviet state with any sort of serious theoretical expression we shall try to perform this labor for them here.

"The Dictatorship over the Proletariat"

The most widespread, popular and at first sight irrefutable argument in favor of the non-proletarian character of the present Soviet state is based upon the reference to the strangulation of the liberties of proletarian organizations and to the almightiness of the bureaucracy. Is it really possible to identify the dictatorship of an apparatus, which has led to the dictatorship of a single person, with the dictatorship of the proletariat as a class? Isn't it clear that the dictatorship of the proletariat is excluded by the dictatorship *over* the proletariat?

Such enticing reasoning is constructed not upon a materialistic analysis of the process as it develops in reality but upon pure idealistic schemas, upon the Kantian norms. Certain noble "friends" of the revolution have provided themselves with a very radiant conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and they are completely prostrated in the face of the fact that the real dictatorship with all its heritage of class barbarism, with all its internal contradictions, with the mistakes and crimes of the leadership fails entirely to resemble that sleek image which they have provided Disillusioned in their most beautiful emotions they turn their backs to the Soviet Union.

Where and in what books can one find a faultless prescription for a proletarian dictatorship? The dictatorship of a class does not mean by a long shot that its entire mass always participates in the management of the state. This we have seen, first of all, in the case of the propertied classes The nobility ruled through the monarchy before which the noble stood on his knees. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie took on comparatively developed democratic forms only under the conditions of capitalist upswing when the ruling class had nothing to fear. Before our own eyes, democracy has been supplanted in Germany by Hitler's autocracy, with all the traditional bourgeois parties smashed to smithereens. Today, the German bourgeoisie does not rule directly, politically it is placed under complete subjection to Hitler and his bands. Nevertheless, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie remains inviolate in Germany, because all the conditions of its social hegemony have been preserved and strengthened. By expropriating the bourgeoisie politically Hitler saved it, even if temporarily, from economic expropriation. The fact that the bourgeoisie was compelled to resort to the Fascist regime testifies to the fact that its hegemony was endangered but not at all that it had fallen.

Anticipating our subsequent arguments, our opponents will hasten to refute: although the bourgeoisie, as an exploiting minority can also preserve its hegemony by means of a Fascist dictatorship, the proletariat building a socialist society must manage its government itself, directly drawing ever wider masses of the people into the task of government. In its general form, this argument is undebatable, but in the *given* case it merely means that the present Soviet dictatorship is a sick dictatorship. The frightful difficulties of Socialist construction in an isolated and backward country coupled with the false policies of the leadership—which in the last analysis also reflects the pressure of backwardness and isolation—have led to the result that the bureaucracy has expropriated the proletariat politically in order to guard its social conquests with *its own* methods. The anatomy of society is determined by its economic relation. So long as the forms of property that have been created by the October revolution are not overthrown, the proletariat remains the ruling class.

Dissertations upon "the dictatorship of the bureaucracy over the proletariat" without a much deeper analysis, that is, without a clear explanation of the social roots and the class limits of bureaucratic domination, boil down merely to high-falluting democratic phrases so extremely popular among the Mensheviks. One need not doubt that the overwhelming majority of Soviet workers are dissatisfied with the bureaucracy and that a considerable section, by no means the worst, hates it. However, it is not only due to repressions that this dissatisfaction does not assume violent mass forms: the workers fear that they will clear the field for the class enemy, if they overthrow the bureaucracy. The inter-relations between the bureaucracy and the class are really much more complex than they appear to be to the frothy "democrats". The Soviet workers would have settled accounts with the despotism of the apparatus had other perspectives opened before them, had the Western horizon flamed not with the brown color of Fascism but with the red of revolution. So long as this does not happen, the proletariat with clenched teeth bears ("tolerates") the bureaucracy, and in this sense recognizes it as the bearer of the proletarian dictatorship In a heart to heart conversation, no Soviet worker would be sparing of strong words addressed to the Stalinist bureaucracy. But not a single one of them would allow that the counter-revolution has already taken place. The proletariat is the spine of the Soviet state. But in so far as the function of governing is concentrated in the hands of an irresponsible bureaucracy we have before us an obviously sick state Can it be cured? Will not further attempts at cures mean a fruitless expenditure of precious time? The question is badly put. By cures we understand not all sorts of artificial measures separate and apart from the world revolutionary movement but a further struggle under the banner of Marxism. Merciless criticism of the Stalinist bureaucracy, training the cadres of the New International, resurrecting the fighting capacity of the world proletarian vanguard—this is the essence of the "cure". It coincides with the fundamental direction of historical progress.

During the last few years—appropriately enough—our opponents have told us more than once that we "are losing time in vain" by occupying ourselves with curing the Comintern. We never promised anybody that we would *cure* the Comintern. We only refused, until the decisive test, to pronounce the sick as dead, or hopelessly ill. In any case, we did not waste a single day "curing". We formed revolutionary cadres, and, what is no less important, we prepared the fundamental theoretical and programmatic positions of the new International.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat as an Idealistic Norm

Messrs. "Kantian" sociologists (we apologize to the shade of Kant) often reach the conclusion that a "real" dictatorship, that is one which conforms to their ideal norms existed only in the days of the Paris Commune, or during the first period of the October revolution, up to the Brest-Litovsk peace or, at best, up to the NEP. This is indeed sharpshooting: aim a finger at the sky and hit the bull's eye! If Marx and Engels called the Paris Commune "the dictatorship of the proletariat" it was only because of the force of the possibilities lodged in it. But by itself the Commune was not *yet* the dictatorship of the proletariat. Having seized power, it hardly knew how to use it; instead of assuming the offensive, it waited; it remained isolated within the circle of Paris; it dared not touch the state bank; it did not and indeed could not put through the overturn in property relations because it did not wield power on a national scale. To this must be added Blanquist one-sidedness and Proudhonist prejudices which prevented even the leaders of the movement from completely understanding the Commune as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reference to the first period of the October revolution is not any more fortunate. Not only up to the Brest-Litovsk peace but even up to autumn of 1918, the social content of the revolution was restricted to a petty-bourgeois agrarian overturn and workers' control over production. This means that the revolution in its actions had not yet passed the boundaries of bourgeois society. During this first period soldiers' soviets ruled side by side with workers' soviets, and often elbowed them aside. Only toward the autumn of 1918, did the petty bourgeois soldier agrarian elemental wave recede a little to its shores and the workers went forward with the nationalization of the means of production. Only from this time can one speak of the inception of a real dictatorship of the proletariat. But even here it is necessary to make certain large reservations. During those initial years the dictatorship was geographically confined to the old Mosocw principality and was compelled to wage a three years' war along all the radii from Moscow to the periphery. This means that up to 1921, precisely up to the NEP that is, what went on was still the struggle to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat upon the national scale. And since, in the opinion of the pseudo-Marxist philistines, the dictatorship had disappeared with the beginning of the NEP, then it means that, in general, it had never existed To these gentlemen the dictatorship of the proletariat is simply an imponderable concept, an ideal norm not to be realized upon our sinful planet. Small wonder that "theoreticians" of this stripe, insofar as they do not renounce altogether the very word dictatorship, strive to smear over the irreconcilable contradiction between the latter and bourgeois democracy.

Extremely characteristic, from the laboratory and not the political point of view, is the Parisian sect of "Communist-democrats" (Souvarine & Co.). The very name already implies a break with Marxism. In the critique of the Gotha program, Marx rejected the name social democracy in view of the fact that it places the revolutionary socialist struggle under the formal control of democracy. It is quite obvious that there is no difference in principle between "Communist democrats" and "socialist democrats", social democrats that is. There is no ahrd and fast partition between socialism and communism. Transgression begins only when socialism and communism as a movement or as a state is subordinated not to the actual course of the class struggle, not to the material conditions of the histrical process but to the supra-social and supra-historical abstraction, "democracy" which in reality is a weapon of self-defense serving the bourgeoisie against the proletarian dictatorship. If during the epoch of the Gotha Program it was still possible to see in the word social democracy only an incorrect and non-scientific name for a proletarian party, whose spirit was healthy, then the entire subsequent history of bourgeois and "social" democracy turns the banner of "*democratic* communism (?)" into the banner of an outright class betrayal*.

Bonapartism

An opponent of the Urbahns type will say that there has been really no restoration of the bourgeois regime as yet but also there is no longer a workers' state; the present soviet regime is a supra-class or an inter-class Bonapartist government. In its own time we setteld our accounts with this theory. Historically, Bonapartism was and remains the government of the bourgeoisie during periods of crises in bourgeois society. It is possible and it is necessary to distinguish between the "progressive" Bonapartism that consolidates the purely capitalistic conquests of bourgeois revolution and the Bonapartism of the decay of capitalist society, the convulsive Bonapartism of our epoch (von Papen—Schleicher, Dolfuss, and the candidate for Dutch Bonapartism, Colijn, etc.) Bonapartism always implies political veering between classes; but under Bonapartism in all its historical transmigrations there is preserved the one and the same social base; bourgeois property. Nothing is more absurd than to draw the conclusion of the classless character of the Bonapartist state from the Bonapartist wagging between classes or from the "supra-class" position of the Bonapartist gang. Monstrous nonsense! Bonapartism is only one of the varieties of capitalist hegemony.

If Urbahns wants to extend the concept of Bonapartism to include also the present soviet regime then we are ready to accept such a widened interpretation—under one condition: if the social content of the soviet "Bonapartism" will be defined with the requisite clarity. It is absolutely correct that the self-rule of the Soviet bureaucracy was built upon the soil of veering between class forces both internal as well as international. Insofar as the bureaucratic veering has been crowned by the personal plebiscitary regime of Stalin, it is possible to speak of soviet Bonapartism. But while the Bonapartism of both Bonapartes as well as their present pitiful followers has developed and is developing on the basis of a bourgeois regime, the Bonapartism of soviet bureaucracy has under it the soil of a soviet regime. Terminoogical innovations or historical analogies can serve as conveniences in one manner or another for analysis but they cannot change the social nature of the soviet state.

* Those who are interested, if there are such, may become acquainted with the "platform" of "communist (!) democrats" themselves. From the viewpoint of the fundamentals of Marxism it is difficult to conceive of a more charlatanistic document.

(To be continued)

Discussion Articles

The NRA and the Corporate State

The NRA cannot be separated from Roosevelt's Administration, nor from its other 'Acts' such as the economy bill, the banking laws, the revaluation of the dollar. Let us thumb through the pages of history to find a similar bourgeois regime. We need to go back to the days when the Communist Manifesto was written. Bourgeois Revolution had shaken Europe. The "spectre of Communism" had shown itself to a victorious bourgeoisie in France. A cruel, cynical "reformism" to meet "social evils" was put forward by the ruling bourgeois clique. National workshops, public work armies, thieving economies, and tactical financial reorganizations and moves, subsidies to the peasantry, etc., were the elements of a state policy designed to segmentate the lower classes and to strike additional blows at the defeated monarchy. Utopian Socialists, liberals, industrialists and financiers were each given "their part to do." The Second Republic of France raised itself up, on the guns of the nation's proletariat, artisans, and peasants. The two former classes, being socialist-minded, were demanding a Social republic!' The capitalist met this new stage of its revolution that was promising to be socialist in character by its 'own' reformism.

The Roosevelt regime which has been swept into power upon the paper ballots of the lower classes who in a practical American manner are demanding precisely those things which only a Workers' Government can give (cheap government, a social dollar, government ownership of banks and trust industries, social insurance of all kinds, etc.) is meeting this popular awakening with a similar program of "Reforms". In France the particular regime that applied this policy beat back the plebian revolt for the "Social Republic" in 1851 with the strength it had gained from its policy only, in turn to waste itself and fall to the "Third Empire" of counter-revolution.

Example of 1851 Insurrection

Trotsky has pointed out that the insurrection of the Parisian proletariat in 1851, an outburst of anger against the fraud, deceit, and cruelty of the Bourgeois reform government represented in the dynamics of the social revolution, the "July Days" which were a necessary prerequisite for the Paris Commune. Between these steps for power came the successful Kornilloviad, the Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. This was because, in the specific gravity of the social classes of France at that period, this form of reactionary state rule for the property classes came to the surface first. How will it fare for the Roosevelt regime and the social camp for whom he holds the staff of power!

When the avalanche of paper ballots (as against the Frenchmen's guns) swept Hoover down it carried with him whole sections of the political system by, which Finance Capital rules. The brunt of the shock was taken off the dominant class by the fact that the traditional two party system allowed it to use its blackest, oldest, most reactionary Democratic Party as a "liberal" shock-absorber. This reserve of American capitalism is now being put in the most precarious position not by voluntary choice but by necessity, for the crisis is still in its left-ward flood (counter-currents not withstanding).

Contradictions of Roosevelt Regime

French capitalism could aid the organization of its artisans and lumpen-proletariat, and could counter balance them with a far more numerous peasantry subsidized by taxes upon its land gentry and nobility. Roosevelt has to rob three million war veterans and government employees; he had to subsidize a mass of farmers by taxes upon the rations of subsistence wages and doles of the working class; he has to shift as much as possible the burden of feeding the unemployed from over-bonded cities and counties to equally debt-ridden small and middle trade and industry in order to protect the bigger banks. He has to organize not artisans in sparsely scattered cities but a highly industrial, socially powerful proletariat of forty millions in order to perpetrate a fraud, a breach of trust of enormous dimensions upon a recklessly moving nation.

Money manipulations will not bring the necessary breaks from the declining world market; not when England and France have such huge stakes in the offings. Latin America jolts the administration with its contributions to the Permanent Revolution (Cuba). The extreme right sabotages—the Republican Machine of the Fords, Mellons, the merchantile and sectional industrialists, the landlords, and reactionary church—thus giving the Roosevelt administration **elements of bonapartism.** Truly it is a **government of transition.**

The NRA can have only one great effect upon the working class political development in America, which shall stand above and include all other effects upon the social-consciousness of the proletariat, and that is the inevitable "outburst of anger"; a crisis similar to the July Days, patterned to the present American situation, which will be the **dress rehearsal** for the **"American October"**, providing the internationalist revolutionists are there, in the mass, at the time, with the necessary clarity in leadership and retreat. Without this condition, this revolt of desperation will be but another '77 '86, '93, for the American working class, a decisive defeat with the resulting reaction.

II. State Capitalism and the Corporate State

The NRA has been accredited by every brand of social reformism as having elements of "state capitalism". From Stalinist to Liberal and back again, the question as to the exact amount of "state capitalism" has been bandied about, as though the American proletariat, which has in the main no misgivings for ordinary capitalism, is going to prick-up its ears and take notice of the new kind of capitalism he is being faced with. Since no Marxian theoretician has yet conceded that there can be an economy that is "pure" state capitalism, why should the Marxists use this term at all to describe a phenomenon in social-economic organizations that is occurring ever more frequently under imperialism, the final stage of Capitalism.

Imperialism is the rule of Financial Capital in the national economy and its state for the purpose of perpetuating and extending its particular power and influence throughout the world. Finance Capital attains its position of power in the state due to the dominant position it holds in the economy of a nation. The nation is dependent upon its enormous wealth and continued expansion in the rest of the world. The ordinary operation of the blind economic laws of capitalism leads from crisis to crisis to the greater concentration of wealth and economic power in Finance Capital at the expense of small and independent capitalist, farmers, and proletariat—with all the ensuing difficulties and political consequences to its rule over the nation. This condition reflects itself in the state under stress of internal contradictions.

Function of Imperialist State

The Imperialist State begins to function from this manner of thought: the interests of the nation are the interests of Finance Capital, therefore the requirements of our international bankers (a bigger slice of the world market) demand that this and that internal contradiction, which will work itself out if given enough time, needs to be solved **now** in the immediate future, in order that we can set our house in order for our next stab at the competitor powers. The difficulty may be over-capitalized, antiquated small industry and trade. The remedy is a plan similar to the NRA, which will establish a law of "fair practice" by which the stronger, more efficient plants will quickly ruin and eliminate the small inefficient workshops. This will speed-up the natural process of elimination, and make the nation's economic power stronger more quickly.

Or the case may be the exigencies of Imperialist War in which the whole nation's (that is its Finance Capital's) future is at stake. The remedy is to monopolize the banks, the railroads, the public utilities, and the munitions works, by establishing government ownership of some enterprises, government control of others, in order to regulate prices, and the investment of government money everywhere necessary. All warring powers applied some of these measures of 'state capitalism' in the World War. Or the case may be that of a Capitalist nation caught in the crisis of democratic rule, when the exploited classes can not longer be held in leash by bribes or concessions and when the internal contradictions are augmented by external barriers to expansion. The Nation (finance capital) is in a state of "siege".

Only a complete unification of the national economy under the hegemony of finance capital can suffice for the continuation of capitalism. Then the "corporate state" of Fascism is needed to stabilize the rule of finance capital on a basis that is consistent with all tenets of its life, as was the case of Italy, Germany, etc. "State Capitalism" is practised under Fascism to the extent that its internal and external requirements demand certain measures of this kind for the continuation of the life of Finance capital and capitalism itself.

State Form of Finance Capital

From the above it can be seen that "State Capitalism" is nothing but the reflection of the concentrated economic power of finance capital of a nation in the political superstructure of the capitalist state. The "Corporate State" of Fascism is the consistent state form for the rule of finance capital. Under it all the economic forces of the nation are at the disposal of Imperialism. But let us not over-estimate the strength of this state form for capitalist rule. Fascism is the product of the decay and weakness of a national capitalist economy, which seeks to avoid with "national madness" the international inter-dependence of each separate national unit to continue to live.

A Fascist state at the same time packs within the shell of national boundaries in the most concentrated form the basic, most highly explosive contradiction of capitalist economy—social production and individual appropriation—by intensely practising what is known as state capitalism. This becomes a mortal contradiction when jarred by the Permanent Revolution from without and within, for the latter seeks to solve, by social revolution through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to World Socialism, the contradiction between the "advanced" technique of world economy and the "outlived" modes of production and social super-structure.

Here in America at that time we can afford to speak less of "State Capitalism" and more of Finance Capital, that is, Wall Street. Concretely, we must show the source and inspirers of each measure that deprives the petty bourgeoisie, the farmers and workers of their freedom, their "democracy" and their "rights" (that is, their money) to be the Imperialist Bankers.

—CLEM FORSEN.

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EDITORIAL

Shoe Workers Amalgamation

AMALGAMATION of the independent unions of shoe workers into a single organization, decided by the Boston convention, is a real step forward. It promises much for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades and should encourage the militant and progressive forces everywhere. The fact that it was pushed forward at every step over a period lasting a year in the face of every kind of obstruction and opposition from the conservative officialdom of the various unions, the virtually unanimous support which the proposal received in the referendum and, finally, the resolute decision of the convention to drive through to the goal—these facts give ground for confidence that the last-minute attempts of disgruntled officials to sabotage the unification will be frustrated.

There is a mighty sweep of rank and file determination behind the amalgamation movement of the shoe workers. The success with which it asserted itself in all the unions and came to fruition in a united convention is a striking illustration of the power of a mass movement to break through antiquated forms. Many difficulties yet remain, but it is clear that the movement is going ahead under full steam and gaining strength along the way. Progressive elements in other unions, working for amalgamation, can well take heart from the splendid achievement of the shoe workers.

* * * *

One of the most important aspects of the fusion of the independent shoe unions, overshadowing even the tangible gains of the moment, is the rich prospect it opens up for a rapid expansion of the new united organization. It is not merely that approximately 70,000 workers have found their way toward a single union in place of a number of separate unions weakened by mutual competition and isolation. That in itself, to be sure, is a great accomplishment. But the unification also creates the conditions for a broad campaign to organize the unorganized and bring the power of a national movement to bear for a general improvement of conditions.

There is an attractive power in the idea, and especially in the fact, of unity. The coming together of the independents at Boston may well be the starting point for the development of unionism in the shoe and leather trades on a scale unknown before. A decisive move in this direction by the new organization, without losing any time, will be the most effective means of consolidating the accomplishments of the convention and flattening out attempts at obstruction from any quarter.

* * * *

Trade unions, that is, real trade unions, are elementary organizations of the masses, not artificial creations cut to pattern. In their programs and, what is more important, in their practices, they reflect, by and large, the stage of development attained by the membership in the struggle against capital. Those who aspire to shape this development in a revolutionary direction, to bring the element of consciousness into the movement, can begin to be effective only when they learn to take the unions as they find them and work among them. Their development can be seriously influenced only from within and in the process of struggle. It cannot be imposed from the outside through any special form of organization. The new union of shoe and leather workers has masses in its ranks. That is the first requirement of a union without which the best program in the world amounts to nothing. Despite all its defects the mass basis of the new union entitles it to the support of the workers in the industry, and the "recognition" of every other legitimate union.

* * * *

As an independent organization, forged by the workers in struggle against the employers and the black traitors of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" union, the new amalgamated union may be regarded as a symptomatic expression of the line of development which will become more general. As a living example of the vitality of such a trend it must be attentively heeded by those who want to synchronize their conceptions with the actual development of the movement. The cut and dried idea that affiliation to the A. F. of L. is the only badge of legitimacy for a labor organization has no more foundation than the grotesque theory of the Stalinists that new unions must be organized everywhere according to one uniform blueprint, with their "control" assured in advance. The first is implicit with treachery as the second is a prescription for sectarianism isolation and sterility. Both of these arbitrary "theories" have been dealt a heavy blow by the actual course of development in the shoe unions.

* * * *

In firmly rejecting any idea of affiliation, either with the A. F. of L. or the Trade Union Unity League, the amalgamation convention took the only course possible under the circumstances. Independence is the necessary condition for the effective functioning and growth of the amalgamated union in the next period. The new organization came into existence and acquired a mass basis in the course of a long series of revolts against the monstrous betrayals of the A. F. of L. "Boot and Shoe" organization. The fight for a genuine union in the industry is a continued fight against the "Boot and Shoe". An approach to the A. F. of L. on the part of the amalgamated union would be the greatest folly imaginable as long as it involves the idea of a reconciliation with its corrupt affiliate in the shoe industry. There could be no better way to demoralize the movement.

The furtive maneuvers of the Lovestoneites to steer the new union into this treacherous channel made no headway at the convention. In rejecting these suggestions the shoe workers have shown a greater sense of reality than the A. F. of L. fetishists. "Independence", of course, is no principle. As a general formula the argument for the federation of separate unions into a general labor movement is unassailable. But the complex nature of the American trade union movement, now at the beginning of a new and probably variegated development, excludes any patent, universal formula. A. F. of L. fetishism,—the theory that every union not affiliated to it has to be condemned as "dual unionism"—is the most false and dangerous of all the arbitrary "theories". In the last analysis this "theory" converts its protagonists into field agents for the labor fakers and closes the door to a real participation in the coming labor struggles "outlawed" by them.

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If the test of trade union policy is the way it works out in practice—and we know of no other—then the Stalinist dogma of a uniform new movement of "Red Unions", with program and leadership provided for beforehand, was completely discredited once again by the debacle in the shoe industry. Not only did the convention refuse to hear any suggestion of affiliating to the T. U. U. L. but the Stalinist union in New York was required to sever relations with this body as a condition for its inclusion in the amalgamation. The independent unions came together into a single organization, but it does not fit into the Stalinist pattern. It didn't go to the T.U.U.L. On the contrary the T.U.U.L. union had to go to it. The leaders of the Stalinist union tried in every way to sabotage the amalgamation movement and to set itself up as the real union against all the others. It ended by capitulating to the amalgamation movement and giving up its own affiliation and separate identity.

This was surely the correct thing to do. But the Stalinists are not entitled to the credit. The wisdom was not theirs. The pressure of their own membership on the one side and the adamant hostility of the workers in the other unions to the T. U. U. L. left them no other choice. The Boston convention demonstrates that the independent union movement has real vitality in certain fields. And it demonstrates no less convincingly that this movement does not flow in the artificial channel cut for it by the T. U. U. L. but, on the contrary, takes its own course outside the T. U. U. L. and against it. Clear-headed militants will shed no tears over this fact. For them the real movement is important, not the arbitrary schemes. This real movement of independent unionism can only gain by the elimination of the false theories and disruptive practices represented by the T. U. U. L.

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Independent unions, which come into existence as a result of special conditions in certain industries, do not, by that fact alone, become revolutionary or radical. They offer, as a rule, a freer field for the work of the militants and their development on the path of class struggle is less hampered by the interference of the skilled professional labor agents of the capitalists who dominate the A. F. of L. But if they are mass organizations they reflect the composite mental attitude of the mass. That is not revolutionary today. It can become so only in the course of struggles and with the aid of the Communists who root themselves deeply in the unions and take part in the struggles. The greatest mistake is to consider an independent union synonymous with a revolutionary policy or to think such a policy can be imposed in advance.

The amalgamated union of the shoe and leather workers is by no means a "Red" union. It is a fluid movement, filled with contradictions and not a little confusion, as any real mass organization of American workers today is apt to be. The convention condemned the NRA in one resolution and praised Father Coughlin in another.

In this contradiction there is nothing fatal for the new union. The union will have its existence in the class struggle and will be influenced and shaped by it. The workers represented at the Boston convention and their prototypes in other trades will make up the bulk of the new labor movement. They have many illusions and are due for some hard bumps. The most important thing for the Communists is to recognize the real movement when they see it, take part in it no matter what its form may be and help the workers to assimilate the lessons of the struggles.

The shoe workers movement is a real one and its form, under the circumstances, is the one best adapted to facilitate a radical development. The fact of the amalgamation, which strengthens the confidence of the workers, will undoubtedly lead to conflicts on a bigger scale and work to the same end. The amalgamation convention at Boston, despite the confusion and contradictions which marked some of its actions, will most likely represent the starting point of movement which lifts the struggles of the shoe workers to greater heights and clearer aims. The whole movement of insurgent labor will be the gainer by it.

NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

After the Norwegian Labor Party had rejected the proposal to elaborate a joint platform, the problem of this party among others was discussed more or less haphazardly by our German comrades and the S. A. P. In this way the question of the Norwegian Labor Party (N. A. P.) has come to the fore. This international question is extremely interesting to a large circle of people.

What does this N. A. P. represent? With 200,000 members (undoubtedly, as in the British Labor Party the largest part of this is collective membership it represents like the Austrian Socialist party the political party of the Norwegian proletariat. It is strikingly similar to the Austrian Socialist party in another way. The strong Leftist currents among the members (who have up to now not dared to join the Second International) who form a Left wing, use a vaguely radical phraseology are basically reformist and are deplorably reformistic and vulgar in practise, that is pursue a policy of toleration which precipitates layers of the middle classes into the arms of Fascism.

It is true that the party has gained of recent date (like other reformist parties) great election successes, but as the **Nieuw Rotterdamsche Kourant** correctly puts it, its conduct is at bottom especially moderate.

The Marxist Attitude

The attitude towards this party is particularly clear for Marxists: to work as a fraction inside the aprty as long as they (the Marxists) are too weak to create a new Communist party; the construction of this fraction on the basis of the sharpest criticism of the reformist leadership and no collusion of any kind with this leadership.

On the principle questions which face the ranks of the united front the position of the S. A. P. is quite different from the one we defend. Not only did it sign a resolution on the regeneration of the workers movement, together with this famous party, besides the Declaration of the four not only did it sit with it in the London Bureau, but what is worse it abstained from our criticism of this party on the national and international scale.

What are the results of such procedure? There are a number of important groups and parties internationally, like the I. L. P. and the Independent Communist party of Sweden (the latter has broken with the Brandler international) which are evolving to the left. The principal task of all the participants in the Declaration of the Four should be the strengthening of relations with these parties. Therefore it can continue openly with the N. A. P. only in the face of the growing development of opposition.

The N. A. P. and Sweden

It conducts itself in a similar manner with the Independent Communist party of Sweden As long as the N. A. P. deems it advisable to have relations with the latter, it will exert a bad influence on it and will arrest its development. These facts are so striking that every member of the S. A. P. should take them into consideration.

But in Norway itself such passivity can only lead to disgust in the N. A. P. No Left wing can develop without criticism. On the other hand an appeal to international allies permits Tranmael to play the revolutionist in his own party.

After the Declaration of the Four the London Bureau has lost its significance. It is even unable to explain how it happens that each of its participants follows a different aim. One holds for the IInd, the second for the II 1-2, the third for the IIIrd, the fourth for the IVth, etc., etc. Better yet the simultaneous alliance of two of the signees of the Declaration of the Four with a completely reformist party must compromise the conception of the IVth International, not only in the eyes of some bureaucrats but before many thinking revolutionary workers.

The S. A. P. argues about the results of its alliance with the N. A. P. in a very confused and unique way. It does not help Tranmel because he treats the alliance very disdainfully. Tactical exigencies demand this alliance. Yes, this element which is worthy of eulogies, still demands the entrance of the League of Communist Internationalists in the London Bureau, that is to abandon our declaration of Four for an optional and cordial union with Tranmel. One should not fear compromises, etc.....

The Charge of "Sectarianism"

Conversely the demand of the League of Communist Internationalists is called "secetarian" in the largest degree (?). At every step tehy discover the original sin. In that they make use of Lenin's method (Dear friends, study once again in what circumstances, with what methods, and with what results Lenin marched in 1915 towards the construction of the III International! How he condemned every equivocal union containing traces of opportunism, which was precisely the reason that led to the collapse of the IInd International) in order to accuse others as sectarian so that they can appear "correct".

But we ask our opponents: **Is there another method of building a revolutionary organization, no matter how, on the national and international scale?** What are the results of other methods, of the silent concessions, of the "flexible" manoeuvers, of hesitations (of course we speak of the building of the new party and the new international, not of the struggle for concrete economic and political ends in which a united front is possible "even with the devil and his grandmother").

Our opponents can look into the long history of the revolutionary movement as much as they want, but they will not find any other workable method. Every concession to opportunism and centrism, however small or great, has ended in a 4th of August. Only Leninist intransigeance has brought results.

The Road of the IVth International

Only on this road is the building of a IVth International possible. the political level already acquired. On this road they do not abandon They would do much better, not in the N .A. P., not in the Independent Communist party of Sweden, if they brought others to their point of view by means of decisive struggle.

An example. The leaders of the S. A. P. believe that they possess a sufficiently important historical experience to create a new strategy and a new tactic on the basis of this experience; their own results in winning over the S. A. P. As is known the present leadership was formerly Brandlerite. It entered the S. A. P. with 800 members in the spring of 1932. At that time the S. A. P. numbered 24,000 members according to some and 50,000 according to others A year later Seydewitz capitulated to the social democracy, Rosenfeld to the Communist party and the present leadership found itself at the head of a party which had about 14,000 members.

In the meanwhile illegality has naturally reduced this number in extraordinary proportions as it has in all organizations.

The Result of the "New" Methods

We proposed to the comrades now in the leadership, on their entry into the S. A. P., that they carry on an open struggle in the party against Seydewitz-Rosenfeld on the basis of a platform. They did not want to do this. They applied their own tactic and perhaps, despite themselves, conquered around a third of the party. Most of those remaining went to the social democracy; a small section to the Stalinist party where they are continuing their evolution towards the Brandlerites and to us; the majority have sunk into indifference. Do you call that the triumph of the "new" Leninist method over the "old"?

"Gentlemen, consider the outcome!", it is said in old German history. We believe that the historic study of the S. A. P. should be deepened and amplified. It is not written that they would not have obtained this result with the "old" method. They would possibly have obtained a better result. Today the transient homogeneity of the S. A. P. is the product of the external oppression of Hitler. But the political homogeneity of the S. A. P. ...At a public meeting where three members of the S. A. P. spoke, one of them said that there was no proletarian state in the U. S. S. R., the other said that there was one, and the third said something quite unique: bureaucratic socialism.

The Picture

This is broadly the picture of a truly revolutionary party. And that leads us to believe that the final results of the "new method" will be quite different than the leaders of the S. A. P. today think they will, if they generalize and immortalize these methods instead of recognizing their accomplishments in order to correct them. That is why we prefer the "old" methods by means of which the Bolsheviks built their party.

We see that the question of the N. A. P. has not only a particular and actual significance, but that on its correct solution depends in large part the further development of the IVth International. It leads us also to the principles of building a party and a revolutionary international. Their immediate clarification is decisive for future development. —B.

Notes of the Week

WITH HIS MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, the president proved that he stands second to none in that brand of vituperation against the bankers which is at the same time very popular with the broad middle strata of the American people as well as conveniently inexpensive to the vituperative politicians themselves. Such language, coming as it does from the lips of the chief executive standing at the rostrum of the national legislature, makes the amateur demagogues like the Reverend Father Coughlin look like woeful pikers.

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Mr. Roosevelt classed the bankers in category (a) among the criminal element of the country. While the menace of the bootleggers and high-jackers, (category b.), he felt, was already being offset by the 21st amendment, "stringent preventive measures" were yet required to take care of the former. Yet!—half a year after the much publicized clean-up of the Senate investigation.

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An interesting comment on Franklin D.'s latest anti-Wall Street tirade was that of Kingfish Huey Long. The Senator from Louisiana is a fellow knight templar in the same crusade and he ought to be in the know. In reply to a question, Huey remarked: "It was alright . . . not very specific".

* * * *

But Mr. Roosevelt could not very well afford to be specific with "stringent preventive measures." Such measures to be genuinely effective, would have to strike at the roots of that self-same social and economic system which the president himself represents and defends. Of this system of private property and production for profit—"modern society" as he calls it—the head of the government also had some very sharp critical words to say. Also, nothing specific insofar as a solution is concerned. He would eliminate waste, the "ruthless exploitation of labor", speculation with other people's money. He would save "mechanical invention, industrial efficiency, etc." Public works would take care of the millions of unemployed in a generation or so...

* * * *

A MORE SPECIFIC indication of how all this is to be done is offered in the example of the wood pulp industry, regarding which a bill is to be introduced in the current session of congress. We quote from the press:

"The plan involves putting all our domestic wood-pulp companies out of business for ten years. Their employees would be taken over by the Government to do reforesting instead of deforesting during that period. The companies themselves would be compensated by payments from the Government equal to their average annual earnings for the past ten years. . . .

"Then the government would import wood pulp from Russia . . . These imports would not be paid for in cash but would be credited instead against the Kerensky or such other pre-Soviet debts as the Soviets choose to recognize. . . .

"Final step: The government sells its Russian wood pulp at a price sufficient to cover the costs of the plan. . . .

"Expected results:

"(1) Conservation of natural resources in the grand manner.

"(2) Recognition and part payment of debts everyone thought were dead.

"(3) The wheels of Russian trade speeded up.

'(4) American pulp companies would get more money for doing nothing (thereby joining in a body their various presidents, vice-presidents, etc.—Ed.) than they have earned in the past few years.

"(5) The labor involved to be employed in constructive projects.

"(6) The plan doesn't cost the Government a penny. . . .

"(7) American newspapers will get their newsprint cheaper. . . "

(Evening Post, New York, December 28, 1933.)

* * * *

If the above plan works out, it can then be applied to the debts of the other European countries and provide a solution for all the other industries. "Expected result": Our economic needs being thus taken care of and permitting our retirement from the respective professions, those of us who cannot like the wood pulp workers go in for horticulture and botany, can—to while away our time—take up ping pong, solitaire or Walter Lippman's lectures on the New Deal.

* * * *

As for the Russians, they can have their fun running those Five Year Plans of industrial construction. (Though, from the example of the wood pulp industry, it cannot be precisely told what they would get out of it). And Stalin and Molotov may go on, for our part, leading the Soviet congresses in cheers for the propagators of such . . . "courageous" plans.

* * * *

And the American newspapers—who will "get their newsprint much cheaper"—they can make a go of such a handicap and continue printing such solutions which will always remain, we fear, even much cheaper than the price of newsprint.

—G.. n.

Discussion Article

ON THE NATIONAL RECOVERY ACT

I.

The true political nature of the NRA must be established before a further correct analysis of it can be given.

Marxism deals with economic and political developments. Its dialectical approach and the indictive and deductive method of investigation converts it into a science. It is important therefore that each condition be analyzed and categorized correctly on the basis of the prerequisites necessary to bring it about, and its action and reaction when present. If not, there exists the danger, as in all scientific deductions,—of wrong conclusions which cause confusion and contradictions in their further application—the theory that the NRA is a measure of Fascism is wrong basically. It is a conclusion reachtd through emotional thinking and not by scientific or theoretical reasoning. Fascism presupposes an immediate revolutionary situation of an acute form.This does not exist in the United States at present.

The machine of bourgeois democracy can not be used as a Fascist machine. The ruling class shapes the ideology of the people to suit its particular form of rule. Many who have been psychologized into the methods of democracy will not approve of the methods of open warfare.

The Fascist organization builds itself on proportunate lines; i. e., together with the radicalization of the masses grows the reaction of tht bourgeois conscious element. When the point of struggle is reached where capitalism can no longer, with its old methods, cover up its shortcomings and finds itself faced with immediate danger of overthrow, it changes its form of rule. Discarding formalities and democracy it enlists the reactionary element in order to stage an open and bloody war against all opposing forces to continue in power—Fascist measures therefore do not come by degrees or in mild form but are quite evident when present.

To interpret the NRA as a Fascist measure would mean on one hand to confuse the workers as to the stage of the struggle we are in and on the other to minimize the terror and danger of Fascism to the working class. Workers who have received some gains through the NRA who do not understand how capitalism works and cannot realize that capitalism cannot overcome its contradictions will conclude that if Fascism means shorter work hours, collective bargaining and more jobs, then let it come.

II.

Comrade Giganti in his article of August 5th in the **Militant**, where he tries to prove that tht NRA is the beginning of state capitalism and not Fascism, states the following "But the economic organization of Fascism is state capitalism. State capitalism is the final form of capitalist economy". In view of his contention that the NRA is the beginning of state capitalism, it means that the political reflection of the NRA to the same extent, is Fascism. Contrary to what he partly set out to prove.

The question as to the correctness of the theory brought forth by comrade Giganti, that state capitalism is the economic organization of Fascism, is important in itself. An analysis of this question and its implication that, state capitalism and Fascism function together as the economic and political organizations of the same form of government may help us also to decide on the validity of connecting state capitalism with the NRA.

We find that some industries are managed by the state under different forms of government, for different reasons. We cannot mark that as the beginning of state capitalism—Engels in Socialism Utopian and Scientific states to that effect in a footnote*.—We also find that Fascism does not nationalize all the industries but takes over the management of some chiefly in order to strengthen its state power and not as a programmatic act—Thus, state capitalism begins when the appropriate conditions are present, i. e., at the advanced stage of capitalism and the class struggle.

Comrade Giganti says that Engels foresaw the development of state capitalism with remarkable accuracy in "Socialism Utopian and Scientific" this is true, but it does not mean that in the United States we have already reached the stage for state capitalism.

Engels in "Socialism Utopian and Scientific", talks of state capitalism mostly in an indirect way. In order to show that the capitalists are a superfluous class not at all necessary in the scheme of production He outlines the development of capitalism to prove his point. "The taking over of industries first by joint-stock companies later on by trusts then by the state". To understand this as the inevitable way of development would be wrong, because it would omit the struggle of the workers as a factor in the development.

While state capitalism or Fascism may arrive at an identical period—the period of capitalist decay and revolt of the working class—each of these forms will manifest a different condition in the struggle. The transition into state capitalism begins when the workers are leading in the struggle against their oppressors but are not strong enough to take command; they force the masters to retreat and take refuge into the field of state capialism—Fascism, signifies a defeat of the working class. It means that in the struggle, capitalism has triumphed over the proletariat and by tyrannical suppression holds them in check and staves off revolution.

If the German workers were able to keep Fascism out of power, though not strong enough to take power themselves, their capitalist class would be forced to take the road of nationalization of more and more industries in order to overcome the ever growing wretched economic conditions and the reaction of the working class.

However because Fascism does not overcome the contradictions in capitalism but only suppresses the reaction of the masses, conditions will eventually precipitate the struggle of the workers to the surface. If the workers are not sufficiently strong to acomplish the revolution but are able to keep themselves in tact, they may force the Fascist state into state capitalism; as may be done to the bourgeois democratic state.

Because of the extraordinary conditions by which state capitalism proceeds, it can not be conceived that it will develop into a workable economic system. Coming at the advanced stage of capitalist economy and the class struggle with the workers demonstrating a forceful power, it can only develop in part. State ownership not being a solution to the crisis but only bringing to a head, the struggle between the two contending classes can not remain undecided for long. The working class must socialize the industries themselves, i. e., take over power, or the capitalists will once more gain their ascendancy over the situation and resort to methods of suppression to overcome the shortcomings of their system.

The question arises. How are we to analyze the situation in the United States? Man makes history as actuated by outside conditions; one reacting on the other, i. e., the objective and subjective conditions together determine the stage of development. Great misery due to unemployment, by itself does not create a revolutionary situation. While it is the underlying factor at the proper time, it depends on the reaction of the workers to their conditions. If the logical reaction to such conditions is counteracted and retarded by a previous conditioning such as rugged individualism, illusions of prosperity, disorganization, etc., the economic conditions that arise at the stage of declining capitalism can only first serve to destroy the illusions of the past and create a revolutionary ideology within the working class—In the United States bourgeois democracy did not exhaust all its subterfuges to rule. Moreover at present without a strongly organized proletariat, neither Fascism nor state capitalism is possible.

III.

The NRA is a measure of bourgeois democracy introduced during the period when it has to exert effort to cover up the shortcomings in capitalism. It was initiated by the ruling class to check unemployment—brought about by the inherent contradictions in the capitalist economy—at such a period capitalism goes through a process of centralization of wealth, which means the elimination of the middle class. Of course this adds to the contradictions because it throws the bankrupt middle class into the ranks of the industrial reserve army of proletarians. The elimination of the middle class is the natural process of capitalist development and it occurs at a period essential for the further existence of that system.—The NRA as a remedy for the economic crisis consciously or unconsciously accelerates this elimination. —HARRY BRAND.

(Continued in next issue)

* Page 121.

Chaco War

(Continued from page 1)

Numerous attempts have been made at negotiations but without results. Armistices arranged are broken with regularity. One commission made up of representatives of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Peru has just given way to a League of Nations commission which may or may not be able to arrange some sort of temporary compromise.

The Communist Parties of both Paraguay and Bolivia are very young, having been organized since the Sixth World Congress, and while very active "defending" the Soviet Union have been unable to organize any real mass movement in protest against the frightful slaughter taking place in the Chaco. A few protest movements have taken place locally and small army detachments in Bolivia have rebelled at different times. The South American Secretariat of the C. I. has shown impotence in the whole situation succeeding only in organizing a "Barbusse" Anti-War Congress last year which did about as much to really end the war, as did the recently terminated Pan-American Congress.

—ROSALIO NEGRETE.

Phila. Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

union, a shyster lawyer by the name of John Auspitz, made a deal with Sam Cooke from the Penn Fruit Co. to call the strike off without consulting the other unions for bought off. Auspitz called the their opinion. Probably he was fruit men the trouble makers and claimed that he was a good fellow.

The fruit union was asked to go back to work by the Regional Labor Board pending arbitration. They refused to call the strike off until their union is given recognition by the Penn Fruit Company, which they refused to do. Although many of their men have gone back to work they still refuse to call off their pickets as the meat cutters union did.

—HARRY ALLEN.

CORRECTION

In the report of the Brownsville meeting in the last issue of the **Militant** a typographical error crept in. The audience was 300 rather than 500.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

Spartacus Youth Tasks

The draft resolution of the National Youth Committee is surprisingly lacking in concreteness. At no point does it make any suggestion as to the specific tasks of the Youth Clubs. There is no answer to the simple questions: "Where to begin?" "By what methods to proceed?" Our ultimate purpose must be, as the quoted theses indicate, to organize a Youth Section of the future Communist Party, a section politically dependent, organizationally independent, with its special tasks and tactics bases upon the political line and strategy of the Party. But we cannot by a conference or declaration, alone, make the Spartacus Youth Clubs into such a Youth section.

The clubs are few and isolated. Now they must begin the task of winning the youth for Communism. The slogan "Into the Working-Class Youth" must be raised, and plans of action made accordingly. The only plan the National Youth Committee presents is the uniform constitution, which, no matter how useful in itself, is but a poor guide for mass work. The problem of the nature and methods of youth work demands concrete analysis.

Charcteristics of American Youth

The American working-class youth is psychologically immature and impetuous, economically insecure due to unemployment and also to employment in non-industrial, irregular jobs, and in addition is the portion of the proletariat most permeated by bourgeois ideology, due to the schools and to the numerous bourgeois youth organizations. The economic and psychological characteristics of the youth demand that the future Youth Section be rooted in the most stable section of them, —the young workers in industry. The primary task of our present Clubs must be to build a cadre of such young workers. The Clubs must, wherever the Communist League has a foothold in an industry employing some youth, work with the League. Where no such opportunity is offered, the Clubs must themselves try to organize the youth on an economic basis with the cooperation and advice of the League.

Contact with Industrial Workers

Such industrial work must inevitably bring the clubs into contact with backward young workers, too raw for any Communist organization, without causing it to lose its Communist character. However, if such workers cannot be held organizationally, they will be lost. Only broad young workers' clubs can serve the purpose of holding these workers close to us. Discussion groups or study classes in themselves have a very limited appeal. The broad club, which is based on some economic struggle, primarily in unions and unemployed organizations, which conducts educational and social activities, offers an elementary form for organizing youth. The proposed clubs are not peripheral organizations, but are elementary and necessary organizational forms for dealing with the backward working-class youth. Of course, if sufficient numbers can be organized directly into the Spartacus, the broad club is unnecessary, and should not be mechanically organized.

Sports and Social Activities

The sports or social aspects of such broad clubs, while they cannot be discarded, must be secondary. Sports and Socials cannot, in competition with bourgeois youth organizations, draw youth to us; they can only help us to hold workers won on ideological or economic grounds.

To pose baldly the formation of Spartacus Youth Clubs is to pose the question in a vacuum. We can organize a Communist youth organization only when we are able to meet the young worker in his economic struggle and win him to Communism. While present conditions are extremely favorable for rapid strides in gathering and maturing Communist cadres, the necessary intermediate work cannot be bridged by command or resolution, Failure to consider the backwardness of the American youth, and the consequent skipping of organizational stages can lead only to a continued isolation of the Youth Clubs. The Draft Resolution, vague as it is as to specific atsks, by its attitude in Point 5 toward broad clubs, and its negative position toward industrial work cannot help but encourage the maintenance of our present isolation.

Concrete On Primary Task

I do not wish to imply that the Clubs should carry on no other activities. But with our limited forces we must concentrate upon the primary task of winning a cadre of youth in industry. For the rest, I am thoroughly in favor of the formation of a National League of Spartacus Youth Clubs. However, it must be remembered that such a League will be as far from being the future Youth Section as the Communist League is from being the future Party.

—PERRY MEYERS.